David Davies at Velderrame

OR the fifth time in the last seven matches the cup has come home. Despite a comeback of heroic proportions by the American side, who took the concluding singles series 8-4, they had been so thoroughly outplayed over the first two days that they had left themselves with too much to do.

Europe, leading by five points after the fourballs and foursomes, eventually won by a single point, 141-131, and Valderrama was the scene of some determined, not to say prolonged, celebrations.

Suitably it was one of their greatest stalwarts, Bernhard Langer, who secured the half-point to take his side to 14, the mark at which the cup was retained. He did so at the dramatic 17th hole and immediately the huge crowd covering the massive mound at the back of the green went barmy. "Seve, Seve, Seve", they sang and, as Jose Maria Olazábal had just passed through, "Oll-ee, Oll-ee, Oll-ee" as well. Or was it "Olé, olé, olé"?

Banners were unfurled - "Seve is the Greatest", naturally — the Swedish, Italian and German flags were prominent and six Swedes, in blue Viking helmets with yellow horns and the letters E UROPE on their respective T-shirts, leapt up and down like a demented Scrabble

And talking demented, Billy Foster, the caddle nowadays to Darren Clarke but formerly for Severiano which the Spanish captain had built I come from.

1 Short note of death on the road

9 Singer carrying weapon is the

10 Old composer and princess in

11 Ladies almost moved by vision

Conservatives with no end of a

question and make

statement (14)

winning type (7)

12 'New Tony' outflanks

13 Have guests come in

backwards at home (9)

bad name (9)

Bury (7)

Cryptic crossword by Shed

Reign in Spain . . . Europe's golfers celebrate their dramatic victory

on this controversial hole and swam around like a toy yacht whose radio control has gone haywire.

The celebrations were a little pre-

mature, given that there were still two matches on the course, but they were wholly understandable. As the Americans played superbly in the main, the tension was almost tangible and, as at Muirfield Village in 1987, when Europe led by the same margin after the team matches, 10% 5%, it was not always easy to see

15 Hanky-panky in the corner's

Scotsman to Irish county (9)

20 Make Gallic cook embracing

22 ... burn outside of pig's head

23 Pin securing alias on point of

25 1 down attending 87 (5.2.3.4)

24 Returning 101 to Amin? -- that's

chef in confusion . . . (9)

17 Science in space leads

unknown (5)

on skewer (5)

escape (7)

stupid! (7)

Down

Europe were, for example, given the worst possible start when Ian Woosnam was rapidly four down after six to Fred Couples and was

beaten 8 & 7 in just over two hours. Things like that tend to filter down the order but Europe's next two did a superb rot-stopping operation. Per-Ulrik Johansson had been given only one match before last Sunday but he was two under par against Davis Love III. Love opened with a 22-footer for a birdle at the where the winning points were to 1st. Johansson replied with one of the same length to win.

up after five, a lead he never lost, although it seemed likely he might at the 16th after driving into the Empire (7,3,4) trees. But he manufactured a spec-2 Supremely stingy compiler tacular recovery round a cork tree acquires a home (7) 3 Poor Mary is ili likewise (9) and on to the green, and with a bogey from Woods - he was two Shakespearean daughter's over for the match - Rocca was mother accepting one goldfield home and Europe needed 15 points

Calm at the tee-off, interrupting one of five (7) Snake or its headless converse

(b) Taken to the limit during sex? Tremendous! (7) 8 Track events, exceptionally

horny, due to feature in classical

14 Two-way bombardment of KKK emblem (9)

Seasoning Shakespearean daughter between rounds (7) Minaret's alternative garb (7)

18 Polished writer's catalogue of slums (7) 19 West's remnant picked up by

conductor (7) Feature without a series (5)

EBONY GAMELAWS

X U A L I A A A

PATCHWORKQUILTO

O PROMBEE DATE

ROLLOVER PATZER

TABLE FOR TORSON

E ES L S E REQUO

JUDGE HEAVYDUTY

E TO GENT HAUSFRAU

TO GENT HAUSFRAU

O NEARMEDBAND IT

played four Ryder Cup singles, they had all gone to the 18th and he had lost three of them. Last Sunday he

Last week's solution

would like to be captain again sometime, perhaps in 2005

For the immediate future, Sam Torrance emerged as the

tough act to follow.

against Brad Faxon he was in the rough after two shots, with Far on the green 12 feet away in the But the German played a mage cent shot to 10 feet and, when to American missed, had two puts: retain the cup. He took them.

Europe then had to find someon to turn a tie into a win and it turn out to be Colin Montgomerie Reing Scott Hoch and needing a his point, Monty secured his perfora the 18th and, with Hoch 20 les away in three, offered him a habet match. Hoch accepted with alicily

First thing in the morni; Olazábal and Rocca ran away w the last delayed foursomes made with six under par after 14 los being far too good for Couples at Lave, and the Spaniard wrappeding with a 25-foot birdie putt at the lth

In fact the morning drama ve concentrated on the Parnevikle rido v Leonard-Woods match a i went down to the last two holes i square. Over the last seven contex Europe have had much the belied matches that had reached that sage

Europe's victory seemed a lea way from the dawn thunderstorn last Friday which delayed the state of play by 100 minutes. With tr. foursomes matches still out and PHOTOGRAPH RESECCA NACEN course, bad light denied the spec-If there was a hero of the early tors a fantastic first day. Europe t' order, though, it was Costantino the United States halved the non Rocca. The Italian has matured iming fourball matches 2-2 and the mensely since The Belfry in 1993. shared the completed foursons when he three-putted the 17th from matches t-1 in the afternoon.

15 feet when two putts would have On Saturday, play to completely won him his match; so much so that a-ld-over foursomes began oak i the wunderkind Tiger Woods did not 50min late: and it did so with the get a look-in. Woods claimed only 15 rookie Lee Westwood standing oc points from five matches here, a conan eight-foot birdie putt at the le tinuation of his poor team form of that Nick Faldo had laid on for E Royal Portheawl in the Walker Cup, the previous evening. The Empeans were two up with three play. Before putting, he watch British Open champion Leonardy. Rocca was two under and three to hole his birdie putt from 25 fe and fail; then, 145 hours after fak hit the shot that gave him the fet Westwood struck it. The ball was it ways on track, always looked good

Faldo, historically not an ese cially good team man, said: The gelled well, and, as we all know is is important in foursomes." The An unlikely point came from point he earned in that match o Thomas Bjorn, not because the Dane abled him to become the most prois not a good player - potentially be lific scorer in Ryder Cup history is a great one -- but because he lost with 24, overtaking the 23% of BB the first four holes to an inspired Casper, Faldo achieved his marks Justin Leonard. But he chipped away 43 attempts while it took Caspe at that lead and his back nine makes only 37. But the American was play antazing reading. Bjorn levelled at ing at a time when the US was the 10th, and in successive holes most automatically and Faldo's from there was one down, level, one substantially the more significant down, level, one down, level, one up

achievement. The Europeans, having gall one-and-a-half points out of two for the delayed first-day foursons then won three-and-a-half of the ku fourball matches for a lead at the time of 8-4, and by the end of a de when the ball ran for them, the lost another. Janzen birdied the 17th | went five points clear when in and 18th, so giving his team just a only foursomes match of the second Langer, however, extinguished that. Two up playing the 17th by 1 hole.

### El Capitán to drop the reins

NTHE aftermath of his great triumph, Europe's team captain, Severiano Ballesteros announced that he would not be captain of the 1999 Ryder Cup side to play the Americans in Boston, "I want to recover my game," he said. "I want to play against the Americans again. I

which the Americans also lost.

from the remaining nine matches.

The winning point could have come from Olazábal, two up and

three to play against Lee Janzen. But the Spaniard had previously

and then level again.

when the match is in Ireland

front runner to take over the If he takes over, Ballestsing certainly provided him with

Labour conference, page 10

# TheGuardian Weekly

Vol 157, No 15 Week ending October 12, 1997

### Construction of the constr Israel smarts at botched murder plot

### New Russia enjoys its first Blair-hug

Julian Borger in Gaza

fighting to retain his grip on

power this week amid a firestorm of

criticism at home, as tens of thou-

sands of Palestinians celebrated the

return to Gaza of Sheikh Ahmed

Yassin, the radical Islamist cleric

freed from jail as a result of a

After calls for his resignation, Mr

Netanyahu held a press conference

explain how a murder plot in

Amman last week carried out by

Mossad. Israel's secret service, had

Hamas's armed struggle and scores

of other prisoners, uniting Palestini-

Announcing a three-member

Hamas would be mistaken if it sees

this setback as a change in our

Israel's opposition leader, Ehud

Barak, said the committee - which

includes the former Mossad chief

Nahum Admoni - would be power-

less, and what was needed was a full

Mr Netanyahu's colleagues had

appeared to distance themselves

from the débacle. The public secu-

rity minister, Avigdor Kahalani, said

the affair was riddled with "techni-

cal problems, tactical problems, and

neightened by the release on Mon-

day of some 20 more Arab political

prisoners, and the news that up to

50 would be freed in the next week

as part of a prisoner-exchange deal.

n return, Jordan released two

maybe national problems".

Israel's embarrassment

resolve to fight terrorism."

state commission

ans — at least for a day.

botched Israeli assassination plot.

REVOLUTION Square was the Great Leader's first Moscow metro station. On Monday, it was the first for Tony Blair too, writes James Meek in Moscow

A huge entourage followed Mr Blair down into the sombre grandeur of the underground station, built by Josef Stalin in 1938 and decorated with heavy dark-bronze sculptures of workers, mothers and sportsmen.

A black-leather-jacketed special police squad held surprised commuters at bay, forcing the British prime minister to wheel sharply to find ordinary people to shake hands with. There's so many people around it's hard to get to see any people. e muttered.

The train carriage that Mr Blair and his retinue squeezed aboard for a two-stop ride was decorated with an English poem -part of a British Councilponsored programme. The Russians were said to have chosen this Roger McGough poem for Mr Blair on British advice. I wanna be the leader I wanna e the leader/Can I be the eader? Can 1? I can?/Promise? Promise? Yippee. I'm the eader/OK, what shall we do?"

Mr Blair has set as his goal the oulding of a friendly personal relationship with the Russian leader, and that means a demon strative bear-hug — or in this case, a Blair-hug, which is when Boris Yeltsin's embrace is preceded by a quick handshake

rom the British side. Russian male leaders tend not o kiss on their first few dates. But judging by the effusiveness of the Russian president's comments about the Prime Minister which could have been scripted by Downing Street, the two men

nay have graduated to kissing. "I love young, clever people, said the Russian leader, clasp Mr Blair. "Here we have Britain's oungest prime minister, an teresting, thrusting, energetic mous support in the UK and within the Labour party."

Mr Blair's last best chance to reach out to the Russian people was his cameo role in the Bridsh-financed Russian radio soap House 7, Entrance 4, which he recorded in rainy weather in a but on stilts behind the British embassy.

It took a rehearsal and two

attempts to get it right. But he delivered his only line in Russian with gusto, translating or Mr Malone. his famous mantra of priorities education, education and education — into a flawless: \*Obrazovaniye, obrazovaniye, e yeacho obrazovaniye,



Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, centre, and Mossad's Intended victim, Khaled

Mossad agents involved in the plot to kill Khaled Meshal, an exiled Hamas leader in Amman.

Yossi Alpher of the American-Jewish Committee, an expert on Israel's intelligence services, said: "There is a growing feeling in public that this government just can't get it right. It just goes from screw-up to

revelled in triumph. As a Jordanian army helicopter carrying Sheikh Yassin touched down, the welcoming party of dignitaries surged forwards, eager to touch a man who has assumed mythic proportions in the 10 years since he founded Hamas as a militant Islamic alternative to the secular Palestine Libera-

tion Organisation

coming would be like Ayatoliah Khomeini's 1979 return to Tehran, but there were moments when it was more reminiscent of the ayatol lah's chaotic burial, as the frail, paralysed sheikh was buffeted by he crowd.

The PLO-Hamas divide was not bridged, but it was papered over. Yasser Arafat, president of the Palestinian Authority, was absent. pleading other engagements. But is wife Suha was at the helipad beside Sheikh Yassin's wife.

"This is a new start for unity, i rope my busband will soon be under less pressure and will be able to free more prisoners," Mrs Arafat said, underlining the irony that as Israel releases prisoners, hundreds of Hamas members remain locked un in Palestinian inits

It is unclear what Sheikh Yassin's return will bode for Mr Arafat's authority. At a press conference in Amman, the sheikh appeared to contradict reports that Hamas had offered a moratorium on suicidebomb attacks on Israeli civilian targets. He said: There will be no halt to armed operations until the end of the occupation."

But at his home, his half-brother Mohammed said the sheikh would back a truce as soon as Israel implemented the Oslo accords. "He said: They have to respect what they have agreed . . . and then we will give them peace'."

The United States envoy, Dennis Ross, said after talks with the Israeli foreign minister, David Levy, and Mr Arafat's deputy, Mahmoud Abbas, that Israeli-Palestinian committees suspended for seven months, would resume work on Tuesday.

 Canada recalled its ambassador lo Israel last week after it was revealed that the two Mossad agents had used forged Canadian passports on their mission to Jordan.

### Winchester voters must go back to the polis

Michael White

triguing byelections in recent mein- | result, said after the hearing: "We ory when it ruled on Monday that Mark Oaten, the Liberal Democrat MP for Winchester, must re-fight the former Tory health minister, Gerry Malone, for the seat he won by two votes on May 1.

With 3,000 votes of six fringe

He said the court ruling showed that "we won the election and there will now be a re-election and I look forward to that with reliah and

utive, who did not oppose Mr Malgot what we wanted from the court today. Gerry Malone had asked the court to hand the Winchester con-

stituency over to him. But the judges have said that it has to go back to the people of Winchester."

Labour, whose candidate came a candidates up for grabs - 2,000 of poor third with 10 per cent of the which went to Eurosceptic Tory vote, has not yet decided how to candidates in the general election play it. On balance, it is expected to run again — rather than risk charges of Lib-Lab collusion - but not to try too hard.

The Interaction between national and local politics will be heightened by the role of Richard Huggett, who took 640 votes as a Liberal Demo-

sualty of the backlash against sleaze. | 10,000 votes as a "Literal Democrat" Mr Oalen, a 33-year-old PR exec- cost the Lib Dems the Devon and Plymouth East European parliamen-

Months of legal wrangling ended when Lord Justice Brooke ruled that the May 1 result was void because 55 ballot papers had been found to be without the necessary perforated mark made at the polling station. Had this error not been made by election staff, Mr Maione would have won by two instead of time such a result has been overturned in this way since 1910.

By any test, prosperous Winches-ter is a safe Tory seat, but the Lib Dema claim that Mr Malone, a smooth-talking politician's politician Mr Malone was adopted by local craft Top Choice for Parliament can—who was Stephen Dorrell's street—their MP, John Browne, an early ca—he would stand again. In 1992, his lar on the doorstep.

Vichy regime goes on trial

**Global warming** 

The tribe that defied oil giants

French philosophy 29 'load of old tosh'

Che, the doomed 35 revolutionary

14 About to revise convictions (5) 1 It might be called final end of © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1997. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. With many of the sentiments | Mediterranean become a vast free-trade area, creating wealth, for expressed by Larry Elliott (A green light that signals stop, not go, September 28th), I cannot accept his apparent conclusion that voters will elect a global red-green alliance that will halt the capitalistic train's headlong rush to self-destruction.

France is currently governed by a red-green alliance facing awkward questions between economic development (ie, jobs) and the environment. The Super Phoenix fast breeder reactor is to be scrapped for environmental reasons, in spite of job losses, but the Communist transport minister has decided that Charles de Gaulle airport needs additional runways, in spite of the impact on the environment

And many French people seem to believe that they can detach their carriage from the global express, and keep it in a nice calm siding, where they will continue to enjoy the current high standard of living, well protected from the horrors of the outside world. These people have just enabled the National Front to win another election.

If we are to have a global alliance, t would be pointless without the United States, which, in spite of the low standard of living of many people, shows no signs of looking for a coherent political alternative. In the last presidential election, the bluecollar protest vote went to Pat Buchanan in the early primaries, while the Democrats, supposedly the more leftwing of the two US par-ties, seem to believe in the virtues of free global trade - at least as long as US economic muscle powers the global train.

The process of globalisation | Robin H Griffin, began centuries ago, as the Auckland, New Zealand

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trade area, creating wealth, for example, for the Cretan Minoan

A mixture of greed, technical innovation and the courage of the early explorers have pushed European ideas of trade and industry to all corners of the globe. We now realise that the process we started cannot continue, that global resources are insufficient for every family in the world to own a car. But are we Europeana well placed to tell the Chinese this, quoting Gandhi in the process?

This message would only have any value if we showed we were willing to reduce our share of world resources, ie, reduce our standard of living so others can catch up and eventually we all share a sustainable happy medium. Who, in Europe or the US, is going to vote for a politi-

cal party that proposes this? Eysines, France

I WOULD like to add a codicil to Larry Elliott's article on globalisation. The pundits blithely refer to globalisation doing this, market forces doing that and the economy doing something else — as if they could effect anything or affect us in any way. The bad news is that those jargon-phrases cannot do anything. It is people, particularly the greedies, who facilitate market forces, drive the economy and bring about globalisation - thus impinging upon us ordinary people's way of life to our detriment, while achieving their selfish, usually

short-term, goals.

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#### Rethinking Kenyan ties

HRIS MCGREAL'S report (Killers boost Moi's poll prospects, September 21) on the vioence in Kenya in the run-up to this vear's elections makes sad reading. But while McGreal's report hints darkly that the violence may be orchestrated by President Daniel arap Moi's disgraced regime, consolidating his own electoral interests even as he disowns such violence, it says nothing about the tacit forms of support given to him by the West, which allows him to think - rightly as it turns out - that he can act with economic and diplomatic impunity.

This omission is all the more strikng given the short piece at the end of McGreal's report, which says that Amnesty International has urged its members to put pressure on their governments to force Kenya to end years of human rights abuses.

Surely it is time to reconsider the ties that bind the Kenyan regime and a variety of British interests. Far from seeing Moi as a rogue dictator, many in Kenya see their repressive government as the de facto representative of Western interests, without the continued support of which t couldn't survive.

As the evidence against Moi mounts, Britain continues to give huge amounts of aid to the Kenyan regime in various forms — in spite of massive internal corruption and the growing realisation that such ald rarely finds its way down to the people. Nick Frankei,

Richmond, Virginia, USA

SOME months ago you reported that Executive Outcomes, who supply military "advisers" to regimes in developing countries in return for a slice of the country's economic resources, had supplied Paul Moi, son of the Kenyan president, with

some men.
It would be interesting to know if there is any link between the al-leged training camps for groups terrorising upcountry Kenyans into leaving Coast province, and thus possibly swaying elections in the resident's favour, and the men employed by Paul Moi,

Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire

#### Register your e-mail address below and access Guardian Weekly news, features and reviews while your newspaper is still on the press. Instructions will be sent by e-mail. NZ performance doesn't add up 599

O BRITAIN'S Liberal Demo-O crats "want New Zealand-style performance-related pay for miniscuts for failure", do they (Lib Dems unite in scorn for Labour, September 28)? Alas, if only it were so. The truth is that New Zealand cabinet ministers along with all other members of parliament, judges, and most senior executives in the public sector, have their pay set by a privileged system of relatives that has been long abolished for all other public servants, who must take their chances on the unregulated labour market.

There is no performance component in the salaries of ministers. And while there are performance payments associated with the salaries of some senior officials, the suggestion that these might be withheld in the interest of concentrating minds would cause bitter laughter in this country. Perfor | Barking, Essex

mance bonuses continue to be paid notwithstanding the most bizarre administrative failures perpetrated by their recipients.

What is more alarming is that the reforms" effected in New Zealand can still find admirers when it is abundantly clear to all but their plindest proponents that they have signally failed to deliver consistent conomic growth, employment, and productivity improvements, and that they have been a social disaster, especially in the fields of health and education. All your British readers should be praying that a Blair government does not take them down the same path. Wellington, New Zealand

#### Wrong lens on Lebanon

READING Julian Borger's piece "Hizbullah success leaves Israel n shock" (September 14), one could get the impression that Hizbullah, the Amal militia and the Lebanese army were the aggressors when they ambushed an Israeli navy unit that had come ashore (on a commando raid). Do we need to emind ourselves that Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon is still an arbitrary and aggressive act that gives Israel no territorial rights

Mr Borger gives us a portrait of ridiculous mourning for "guerrilla leaders and fundamentalist imams' for resistance fighters and religious leaders according to one's point of view) whom the equally ridiculous, misguided and opportunistic locals regard as their proponents.

Since no such portrait is provided of the Israelis, are we permitted to ask, in the same spirit, if mourning for their dead should also be regarded as ridiculous? Nancy Roberts.

#### Relative burden of Saudi law

MAT appals me in the Saudi V nurses' nurder case is not so much the system of justice in that country, but more the attitude of Frank Gilford, brother of the murdered woman, Yvonne Gilford. The two nurses concerned were found guilty although the "evidence" against them consisted of confessions, later retracted.

In Australia, where Mr Gilford lives, their confessions alone would not have secured their conviction. I therefore fail to understand why, in he did not agree to waive his rights | Editors would have to use in this case a long time ago and ask and only words, to convey the news for the death penalty to be set aside, rather than keeping Ms Parry and her family in what must be agoniaing suspense.

Paul M Brennock, Douglas, Isle of Man

IS THE sentence of 500 lashes deeply offensive to the British. public? I find the fact that two nurses have been convicted of murdering a colleague and proven to have stolen from the victim after the slaying more offensive. Who are we to judge the legal system of other countries when ours has on occasion been found wanting? Ian McLean.

#### **Briefly**

[[] /ITAL international assistan V to Haiti . . . continues to be held up because of delays by the government in implementing key as forms, including privatisation (September 21). What exactly are the blessings of privatisation, which dominant nations are so keen to co fer on countries such as Haiti ha country such as Britain you have faltering services, rising prices that hurt the poor most, shareholders in terests paramount over user needs, pegged earnings for the workforce, and obscenely he salaries for those at the top. In Rus sia, privatisation has been canstrophic for most of the population The almighty scam, of course, is the the predators will be the saviours. Paul Winstanley, Palmerston North, New Zealand

THE headline "New Caledonian itch for independence" (September 14) summed up the whole mat ter. The French have this perverted national pride that leads them to feel they can stay in a place for eye. whatever others may think, France is guilty of selfishness, not radsa But I predict that the sun will set on Paris's empire in Oceania within the foresceable future. William R Brown,

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA

CIGNIFICANTLY, it was Car-Omarthenshire that eventually changed a minority Yes vote into a majority in Wales (September 28). It was this area that elected the fire Plaid Cymru MP (Gwynfor Evans) in 1966. Carmarthen has legeday links with the seer Merlin, who, as cording to Geoffrey of Monmouth made the following prophecy: The race that is oppressed shall prevail in the end, for it will resist the savagery of the invaders". Glyn Welden Banks. Espoo, Finland

MOST of the artists in Sensation have in common a po-faced sententionsness in place of irony and a mistaking of dogma for personal intelligence (September 28). The have all had importance conferred a them by being collected by Charles Saatchi, who has a high public pro file, loads of money and a good or for investment --- but no apparent derstanding of the continuum of six Roland Crisp,

\_IERE'S a way to make British Code of press conduct std (October 5). Any paper that break it is banned from publishing photos. This just might lead to improve ments in journalistic standards. David Fine. Bakewell, Derbyshire

The Guardian

October 12, 1997 Vol 157 No 151 Copyright © 1997 by Quardian Publicated Ltd., 119 Farringdon Road, London, United Kingdom. All rights reserved Annual subscription rates are £48 United Kingdom: £65 Europa Inc. Era, USA and Canada: C63 Rest of World. Letters to the Editor and other adjoin correspondence to: The Guardian West 75 Ferringdon Fload, London ECIM 90 Fetc 44-171-242-0985 (UK 0171-24209) e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

### **Croats surrender for trial**

lan Traynor in Bonn

NE OF Bosnia's most wanted suspected war crimiwanted suspected war crimi-nals, Dario Kordic, a senlor Crost political leader and warlord, was behind bars in The Hague this week after surrendering with nine other Crost indictees to the international war crimes tribunal.

The surrender of the 10 Bosnian Croats, indicted mostly in connection with the murder of hundreds of Muslim civilians in central Bosnia in 1993, represented a coup for the ribunal and followed intense United States pressure on the regime of the Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman.

Mr Kordic, aged 36, a protégé of the Croatian defence minister and virulent nationalist Gojko Susak, was a military commander ap-

Dark cloud

descends

on Jakarta

John Aglionby in Jakarta

THE smog that is enveloping

much of Southeast Asia swep

into the Indonesian capital Jakarta

for the first time on Friday last week

as the government revoked the per-

mits of 29 of the companies it be-

lieves started the fires that have

The companies, none of them

named, are among the 66 that failed

o submit reports rebutting accusa-

tions that they had started fires.

They will fall foul of the first major

Indonesian government action against the timber and plantation

barons accused of setting alight up

to 1.5 million acres of forest, planta-

Blown by easterly winds, the smoke from fires in east and central

Java cast a depressing pall for several hours over the Jakarta sky-

scrapers before the sun burnt !

away late in the afternoon. Meteoro-

logists predict that the capital will

Most ministers are refusing to accept responsibility for the fires and haze. Last week they banned a

protest march by the country's lead-

ing environmental group, the Indo-nesian Environmental Forum,

be affected for at least two weeks.

caused the haze.

tion and scrubland.

nationalist party.

Mr Kordic and another military

chief, Tihomir Blaskic, were in dieted in 1995 on charges of commanding the ethnic cleansing campaign against Muslims in central Bosnia's Lasva valley in 1993, He is also held responsible for some of the worst atrocities of the 42month Bosnian war - notably the massacre of 120 Muslim civilians in the central Bosnian village of Ahmici in April 1993. British troops under the command of Colonel Bob Stewart found women and children burned alive in their cellars.

The charge sheet in The Hague says of the Ahmici massacre: "Every Muslim house in the village was burned, and many unarmed

pointed by Zagreb to head the Bos-nian wing of Mr Tudjman's ruling and systematically shot . . . Before

and systematically shot . . . Before the attack on April 16, Muslims were 356 out of a total population of 466. After the attack no Muslims were left in the village."

The arrest of Mr Kordic, the

most senior political figure to have been taken into custody, is a fillip to the teams of international prosecutors, investigators and lawyers working to bring the Balkans' most notorious figures to court. The arrival of the 10 on Monday

from the Adriatic port of Split almost doubles the number of those being held or already tried, the majority of whom are Croats. Speaking in Paris of a "very impor-

tant step", the US defence secretary, William Cohen, said the surrenders "should send a strong signal" that

war criminals in the former Yugoslavia must be brought to justice.

But there is a glaring contrast between Croatian and Serbian cooperation with the tribunal - 57 of the 78 people known to be indicted are Serbs. Prosecutors also have a secret list of indictees. The most wanted men, the Bos-

nian Serb political and military chiefs Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, remain defiantly at large and the Yugoslav president, Slobo dan Milosevic, spurns co-operation with the tribunal.

Before the surrender of Mr Kordic's group, there were arguments and negotiations over the speediness of their trials. The tribunal has only one courtroom, is short of funds, and is hard-pressed to accommodate all those in custody.

The Kordic case could shed light on the close links between the Zagreb regime and its proxies in

The Week

**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 3

N an emotional ceremony at the former second world war denortation camp at Drancy, north of Paris, France's Roman Catholic bishops apologised to Jews for the Church's complicity n 73,000 Holocaust deaths. Le Monde, page 22

UNDREDS of thousands of Christian men, known as Promise Keepers, took part in a quest for spiritual renewal. praying and singing among the numents of Washington. Washington Post, page 15

THE US announced it had sent the aircraft carrier Nimitz to the Gulf four days earler than scheduled in response to an Iranian bombing raid on bases of the anti-Tehran opposition movement, the Mujuhideen Khalq, in southeastern Iraq.

A LGERIAN newspapers said that more than 60 civilians were killed in new massacres and that government troops had killed 40 Muslim rebels.

SOUTH Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission said it had ordered the former president, P.W. Botha, to testify on his government's strategy to quell black resistance during

N ICK SHERRY, an Australian Labour politician bitterly attacked by the government for his travel claims, was taken to hospital after trying to commit sui-cide by slashing his wrists. He was said to be in a stable condition in a Canberra hospital.

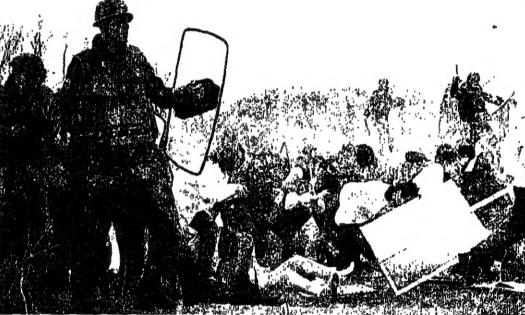
UMAN Rights Watch, a US-based group, called on Saudi Arabia — which has publick beheaded 115 people this year - to halt all executions. Meanwhile UK firms have odged nearly \$1.2 million in an Australian bank to pay for the death penalty waiver of a British urse charged with murder.

ATHERTissa Balasuriya, the Srl Lanken Catholic theologian excommunicated by the Vatican in January for alleged heresy, has been denied a visa to visit Italy.

B IZARRE and sadistic initia-tion rites forced on new college students and tolerated for generations as innocent fun bave been banned by the French gov-ernment following a long and vocal campaign by parents and social workers.

HE US space shuttle Atlantis landed in Florida, ending the 145-day orbit of autromaut Michael Fonle, who was aboard the Russian Mir space station.

UEEN Elizabeth II arrived in Islamabad on a visit to help Pakistan and India celebrate 50 years of independence from British rule:



Serbian riot police beat protesters in the region of Kosovo last week. Some 20,000 ethnic Albanian students were peacefully demonstrating for access to Pristina university when police waded into the crowd using tear-gas and clubs. Dozens of protesters were injured

### **Boycott threatens Serbian election**

Karen Coleman in Belgrade and agencies

NDEPENDENT election monitors said the turnout in the second round of Serbia's presidential election last Sunday failed to exceed the 50 per cent threshold needed for a valid result.

The Democratic party leader,

Zoran Djindilc, mayor of Belgrade until he was dismissed by Mr Milo-

sevic, had urged Serbians not to

endorse the elections by voting.

which is critical of the way the crisis is being handled. and Democracy said less than half International efforts to extinof the 7.2 million electorate had guish the fires were stepped up voted. If confirmed by the election when the United Nations increased commission, the figures mean that neither the Socialist candidate, the size of its disaster team in Indonesia from four to seven people. But Zoran Lilic - the nominee of the said there was little sign of an end to the amog, which is also sevic — nor his ultra-nationalist challenger, Vojislav Seselj, can be

Singapore.
Gerard Kramer, the leader of the UN disaster relief team, said more experts had been called in because the problem was bigger than origi-nally thought. "This is because peat fires are intensifying and, as some of the peat beds are up to 10 metres

Western satellite-image malyser estimated that up to 10,000 hotspots were still being detected across Indonesia every day. While many of the fires have been burning for some time, it was also clear that

If less than 50 per cent of the electorate votes, the presidential elecdeep, they are very difficult to put out," he said. tions have to be re-staged, which could push Serbla into further political chaos. The Socialist acting president, Dragan Tomic, will remain temporarily in office if fresh elec-

tions are needed. Mr. Sesell, the Radical party leader who opposes the Dayton hew ones were starting every day, peace process in Bosnia, had at first-claimed the turnout would exceed the 50 per cent minimum needed. Imazon fires, page 5

probably not gain the presidency but expressed confidence that he would secure a re-run of the election later this year.

On Monday, the election commission spokesman, Nebolisa Radic, said that Mr Seselj led the Socialist party candidate, Mr Lilic, by 49.98 per cent to 46.99 with votes The Centre for Free Elections from 85 per cent of the polling sta-

tions counted. "Neither candidate at this point has met the conditions for election as president of the republic," he added. The commission was expected to issue final official results

A Socialist party spokesman acknowledged Mr Sesell's slight lead and sald voter turnout was 48.68 per cent.

In a simultaneous vote in the other remaining Yugoslav republic, Montenegro, two arch rivals appeared to be heading for a runoff with neither schieving the 50 per cent needed for outright victory.

The two elections were a test of Mr Milosevic's grip on power. In the parliamentary elections last month, his ruling alliance lost its majority and control of the Serbian

Mr Seselj's party doubled its sexts to 82. No government has been formed. Mr Seselj has offered to discuss forming a coalition with Mr Milosevic's Socialists or with He later conceded that he would opposition parties.

The two candidates on offer for the presidency indicate that little has changed in Serbian politics. Both represent authoritarian parties and neither is likely to lead the country to a democratic and

Mr Lilic, a colouriess figure, was the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia until last June. As Mr Milosevic's protégé, he is un-likely to challenge his leader, allowing him to remain in control of

Yugoslav politics.
In a television debate with Mr. Seael, Mr Lilic did not appear pre-We Serbs are really genetically pre-destined for big things at the intellectual level. We are above many in Europe," he said,

His opponent is even more extreme. Mr Seselj, a large, loud and red-faced radical, la a hardline nationalist who led paramilitary forces during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. He talks of creating a Greater Serbia, extending its borders through Bosnia and Croatia into Germany, and is scathing about both the Dayton agreement for Bosnia and United States policy in

the Balkans, On Monday, the US envoy for former Yugoslavia, ambassador Robert Gelbard, catled Mr Seselj a fascist. saying Washington could not work with him as he represented "backwardness" and "darkness".

### French trial will examine shame of Vichy

Paul Webster in Paris

RANCE will be forced to face up to its appalling anti-Semitic past when the 10-week trial of Maurice Papon for wartime crimes against humanity opens this week in a hearing seen as a national examination of conscience.

Mr Papon, aged 87 — who will be protected by a bulletproof screen was responsible for Jewish affairs only in Bordeaux. But the nine jury members and three judges will be implicitly asked to pass an historic judgment on the cowardice, selfinterest and cynicism of Philippe Pétain's government, which helped the Nazis to murder thousands of Jews.

Mr Papon will spend the night before the trial begins in a Bordeaux jail and will inunediately ask the court to free him from having to spend every night behind bars until

If the court allows him to appear freely, he will personally defend

Summit to

in Europe

Stephen Bates in Brussels

A N EXTENSION of human rights in 40 European countries — in-

cluding the ability to appeal directly

against governments to a stream-

lined Court of Human Rights in Stras-

bourg — was expected to be agreed

at a summit in Strasbourg on Friday.

The gathering of leaders for only the second summit in the Council of

Europe's 48-year history may produce a breakthrough in improving the rights of 800 million citizens

The council, which concentrates

on human rights, was set up at the urging of Winston Churchill in

1949. Countries have to demon-

strate their commitment to demo-cracy and the judicial process to

become members — at least in

theory. Croatia joined last year

along with Russin, but Belarus had

its guest status revoked in January.

Bosnia, Georgia, Armenia and Azer-

baijan also have guest status and are

It is in such countries, unused to

"This is a development of im-

mense importance in human rights

across Europe. A person living in

Strasbourg," said Daniel Tarschys.

sexual equality are also planned.

the court — a process that can take

waiting for full membership.

the most impact.

the council.

from iceland to Ukraine.

boost rights

man-occupied territory he had no choice in sending French police to round up 1,560 Jews. They were transferred to the Drancy concentration camp near Paris, and then to gas chambers at Auschwitz between 1942 and 1944.

If the custody order is not revoked, Mr Papon will remain silent and leave it to his lawyer, Jean-Marc Varaut, to defend what is left of his honour.

Whether it is Mr Papon or Mr

Varaut who argues the case, the defence's central premise is simple. Vichy was a legitimate regime, put in place by parliament in 1940. As a civil servant, Mr Papon took an oath of allegiance to Marshal Pétain, author of collaborationist policies with the Nazis over which functionaries had no discretion. Its policy was to hand over to the Nazis immigrant and French lews, of whom nearly 75,000 were murdered.

Although a defence of obedience to orders has been discredited since

itary, the civilian equivalent is still a murkily-defined area, giving the French jury the chance of setting an international precedent in its final ruling that could make all officials think twice during moments of grave crisis.

This is the third trial in French history for crimes against humanity, although several attempts collapsed because the accused died while under investigation. The two previous trials, both of which ended in life sentences, involved armed and uniformed men. They died in prison, the prospect Mr Papon faces.

Neither case touched the question of bureaucratic responsibility. The 1987 trial of Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo chief in Lyon, was a sequel to Nuremburg. He had no hope of release after classic evidence of the persecution, torture and murder of Jews. The 1994 trial of a Frenchman, Paul Touvier, a leader of the Lyon milice — the police force

claims that as a civil servant in Ger- | Nuremberg for members of the mil- | created by the Vichy government to help the Gestapo - moved on to new ground because he had been given refuge by the Catholic Church for 50 years.

Confirmation of the Catholic Church's role as Pétain's principal moral support started the process that led to French bishops asking for the forgiveness of Jews last week. The Touvier trial also broke down resistance, led by the late President François Mitterrand, to a general condemnation of the Vichy

Two months after his election as president in May 1995, Jacques Chirac denounced Vichy as a criminal regime, putting an end to years of semantic evasion throughout the French establishment.

Since 1983, when school textbooks first acknowledged that the French police were the principal arm of repression against the Jews. the popular view of Vichy as a criminal state had already become general Le Monde, page 22



Papon: on trial for war crimes

ally accepted by younger genera-tions. Historians have since more than made up ground on anti-Victor revelations and analyses once led by oreign writers.

It has taken 16 years of legal bat iles led by two lawyers, Serge Klarfeld and Gerard Boulanger, to bring about Mr Papon's trial.

### US to ban child labour imports

Ed Vulliamy in Washington

THE United States Congress last week passed its first legislation to ban imported goods made by forced child labour - a measure that will have a huge impact on manufacturing communities in the Third World and on domestic con-

The legislation is intended to help end child slavery around the world and the bonded labour of millions of children, some as young as four.

It inevitably creates a moral dilemma: the potential closure of factories and sweatshops that employed child labour and supplied the US market is likely to leave poor communities even poorer. The bill - which has emerged

or indentured children.

There has been a ruling for Fifn, the international toots! authority, that it would not use bilmade by child labour. Leading the campaign again-

child labour have been such figure as Terry Collingsworth of the late national Labour Rights Fund, base in Washington, who toured but and Nepal for four years research ing the abuse of children making rugs and carpets. "You could walk into the factories

at will," he says, "and see children looking like they could fall over a any moment." Supervisors, he said used hot irons to sear shut cuts @ the children's fingers from endles stitching so they would not bleed a

Earth spokeswoman, said the fgures were causing alarm.
"We are very concerned at the sheer scale of deforestation," she said. "The logging in the forest has been thinned it is easier to burn."

been longer and drier than nor-mal, increasing the likelihood that some of the fires were out.



### US alert over forest fires

THOUSANDS of fires are burning 26,000 sq km of Amazon rainforest as loggers, catile ranchers and peasants take advantage of the region's dry season to clear land for

onitored by a United States lational Space Research

It shows that the number of fires deliberately started in the traditional dry season — is 28 per cent higher than last year, an average of 599 fires a day compared with 466 in 1996.

More than half are in the station. The logging capital, similar to that which hos been Malaysia — the first experience

According to experts at the to a lesser extent, Tocantins, Rosdonia and Maranhão.

records probably understate the amount of forest clearance beburnt out by the time the satel-

of deforestation, which was thought to be slowing down at the time of the Rio Earth Summit in the early 1990s, is increasing again. Since records began in the early 1980s, more

region is very great and once the

She said the dry season had

## in Amazonia Soul Brown

The fires — which are on as great a scale as those raging across Indonesia — are being

41 days to September 21 - the 24,549 compared with 19,115:

Mato Grosso region, which has received a \$240 million World Bank loan intended to halt defor Manaus, is suffering a smog covering much of Indonesia and in the Amazon region.

S Environment Defence Fund, burning is also taking place in the Amazon states of Para and, The Fund believes that the

cause they only cover the largest and longest-burning fires. Some fires started during the day have The figures show that the rate

than 12 per cent of the Amazon forest has been destroyed. Sarah Tyack, a Friends of the

#### from a long incubation of quiet the fabrics. Children across India and the backroom manoeuvre - was spon-Pacific Rim are sold into bonder sored by an independent member of by their parents to make goods in Congress, Bernard Sanders of export to the US, says the Human Vermont, who calls it "an extremely Rights Watch organisation. Cli-dren are chained to their looms, ad important moral issue". He sees the children who make rugs from India remain bonded until the age of 2). or toys from China as "indentured when they have to pay interest on servants or virtual slaves". their debts and pay for any mis Products affected will include carpets and rugs, sports shoes, foot-balls, toys and trinkets. Although the new legislation the support of the Clinton adminis The US followed European councitizens' rights and democracy, that the reforms are expected to have evacuating the cruise liner MV Romantics in the Mediterranean tration and is expected to recen tries in banning child labour in the the president's seal of approval, it early years of this century, but there near Cyprus. Fire broke out in the engine room last Saturday, leading to the evacuation of 600 passengers PHOTOGRAPH: MARCO DIQUILIO has never been an attempt by a | will not necessarily secure the fund government to legislate against the ling needed to implement it. Significant progress bas been made since 1991 in documenting Iraq's nuclear, ballistic mis the Iraqia continue to attempt to will demand travel restrictions. guide us away from or tell us further limiting their contact.

### Ukraine or Turkey can appeal direct to the Court of Human Rights in

the Swedish secretary-general of HERE is still serious con-. cern about the extent of The summit is also expected to Saddam Hussein's co-operation support declarations banning with United Nations inspectors. human cloning and commitments to according to the diplomat leadimproved protection for minority ing efforts to monitor and groups such as migrant workers. A destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, writes Ian Black declaration on stronger child protection laws and a commitment to in New York.

Richard Butler, head of the UN special commission, Unacom, in-The right of direct appeal will emerge from proposals to streamline dicated that Iraq's submission of the workings of the European Court a 640-page account of its biologiof Human Rights and to appoint a cal weapons efforts fell short of human rights ombidsman. Until now being a "full, final and complete complaints have been investigated disclosure", as required - and by a commission and forwarded to a that a report due to be published next month was unlikely to give. committee of ministers of member states before being brought before Iraq a clean bill of health.

"There are a number of reasons to have serious concerns that

less than the truth," Mr Butler told the Guardian. "I mean they should not remove documents from sites or burn them, but leave them for us to look at."

.The latest Unscom report, prepared by its 150 staff in New York and the Baghdad monitor-ing and verification centre, will be the first since June, when the UN Security Council threatened to take new punitiye measures if Iraq failed to co-operate. Oil ... sanctions, which are crippling its economy, can be lifted only when the commission's work is done.

Senior Iraqi officials are worried that the US and Britain, the leading Security Council hawks. with the outside world. Ominously, Unscom reported

new problems only last month. In one incident, an Iraqi official on a UN helicopter had to be restrained for fear he would seize the controls during an inspection flight over Tikrit military barracks. In another incident two days later, a biological team was prevented from inspecting the Sarabadi Republican Guard base.

Iraq has good reason to louthe Unscom's operation, which uses sophisticated sensors, sniffers, remote cameras, ground-pener trating radar and high-altitude U2 spy planes. Threats, lying

sile and chemical weapons programmes, but its biological warfare capacity remains very much a "black hole".

Mr Butler, previously Australia's ambassador to the UN and a highly respected arms control negotiator, was lavishly praised by the Iraqis when he took over from the veterin Swedish diplomat Rolf Ekeus in July. But he makes no stiempts conceal his impatience.

Two weeks ago in Baghdad l complained trenchantly to the Iracis that they had still not made available their full, final and complete declaration of biological weapons," he sald

Martin Walker in Brussels

UROPE is on track to beat its self-imposed target for the reduction of global warming emissions to below 1990 levels by 2000, the European Commission coasted last week.

The unexpected success gave credibility to its new offer to cut emissions to 15 per cent lower than 1990 levels by 2010, it claimed. The offer, designed to put pressure on the United States and Japan to reach a tough pact on global warming at the Kyoto summit in December, had been questioned by US officials

Three unexpected factors ex-

Julio O'Hanlon, Marketing Assistant,

Treasury International Limited.

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backlash as energy-intensive industries decamped for easier climes.

EU sets example on greenhouse gases

nmental quality. The first was

Britain's shift from coal to gas-fired

power stations, which would allow Britain to claim a 6 per cent drop in

greenhouse gas emissions by 2000.

factories in the former East Germany

meant the Germans were on track

for a 12 per cent cut in emissions.

And France's nuclear power stations

mand in other countries, he said.

The closure of obsolete and dirty

The Commission issued its de-tailed plan on emission reduction ahead of this week's special conference at the White House, where the US was expected to thrash out its own negotiating position for Kyoto. Under pressure from Congress and corporations to make no commitwere performing "better than ex-pected", reducing the need to burn fosail fuels. Finally, the European rement that could damage industry, raise taxes or threaten jobs, the US had tried to fend off the European cession had kept down energy de-Union initiative as unrealistic.

The US is also hoping to promote two alternative plans that would case its own obligations. The first The offer of a 15 per cent cut by 2010 is conditional on the US and

plained the European success, said | Japan following suit. If Europe tried | would seek to require developing Jorgen Henningsen, the director of to go it alone, it would soon suffer a countries to pledge their own cuts. The other is for a market in trading mission rights between polluters, so that companies that had outperformed their target by investing in clean technology could "sell" their poliution credits to dirtier plants.

More than 1,500 of the world's most distinguished scientists have urged leaders to prevent the "potentially devastating consequences of human-induced global warming". Their petition, supported by 104 of the 138 surviving recipients of science Nobel prizes, was presented to President Clinton last week.



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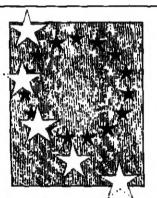
the property of the section





Trigger happy . . . A crane moves automatic weapons at a Melbourne scrapyard, where they were to be melted down after a deadline to turn in illegal arms for money expired last week PHOTOGRAPH: JERRY GALEA

### Big names duck Beatrix's bash



#### **Europe this week**

Martin Walker

NA delicate compromise between regal pageantry and commercial values, the Treaty of Amsterdam was signed in the Burghers Hall of the Dutch royal palace in Amsterdam last week in a ceremony that brought to mind the curious Sherlock Holmes case of the dog that failed to bark in the night.

Here was a formal treaty, signed 40 years after the European Conmunity's founding ceremony in Rome, and five years after the Maastricht treaty. Once attested by all 15 member states, the document will be taken to Rome to rest alongside those other two grand treaties in the archives of the European project.

Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands ter and the prime minister of Luxembourg, Jean-Claude Juncker. The president of the European Commission, the former Luxembourg premier Jacques Santer turned up, along with Iosé Maria Gil-Robles, the president of the European Parliament.

Valiant and honourable men, but not quite of the calibre of the absentees such as Germany's Helmut Kohi. France's Jacques Chirac or Britain's Tony Blair.

To be frank, what Brussels sees as the broadly disappointing outcome of the Amsterdam treaty negotiations last lune may not deserve a turnout of the stars. The draft speech Santer had intended to deliver, until he was persuaded it would be ungracious to his Dutch hosts, had meant to criticise the treaty quite bluntly.

"I do not hide its insufficiencies,

notably in the field of institutional re- | European institutions, and pitifully form," read his draft speech, but dropped from his formal address. He had intended to go on to say: "We have drawn the lessons from Maastricht - it has at lost become indispensable in the eyes of all to come to grips with the real concerns of our

little extension of the much-vaunted

The reason for that, however, was

the really important change to emerge from Amsterdam. Germany,

traditionally the most potent sup-

porter of institutional reforms, sud-

denly started acting in the old

obstructive way that Britain per-

fected over the past decade. Because

of domestic political pressure from

the German provinces, Kohl person-

ally vetoed most of the proposals for

majority votes, rather than strive to

achieve the traditional unanimity. In

Kohl's now-celebrated visit to the

lavatory during the Amsterdam hag-

gling, his deputy said Germany could agree to qualified majority votes in cultural matters. Kohl came back,

drying his hands, and squashed that

when Germany ceased to be the conciliatory and federalising bank-

roller of the European project, and

became strikingly more pragmatic

and querulous, if not qualifying

outright for Eurosceptic status. Cer-

tainly the coming of the new Social-

ist-led government in Paris had

dismayed Kohl, and cast real doubt

over durability of the Franco-

German axis, the traditional loco-

the moment when Germany's ever-

open wallet began to close. Ger-

many now accounts for two-thirds of

the net contributions to the \$90 bil-

lion-dollar burden of absorbing East

Germany throughout this decade.

But if Germany became less con-

ciliatory at Amsterdam, Britain

became less confrontational. At

least in its rhetoric, and in some of

its votes on reform, the Labour gov-

ernment said that it wanted to be

Kohl became Chancellor Nein.

Not by coincidence, this was also

motive of the European project.

Amsterdam thus saw the moment

agreement before he sat down.

plans for qualified majority votes.

citizens." But he dropped that bit too. The weight of symbolism hung heavily upon Santer, speaking in the great palace originally built as the Amsterdam town hall of the 17th century Dutch republic.

Some of the old echoes remain like the statuary figure above the heads of the assembled signatories to the tresty, which portrayed the figure of justice, bearing not just the scales of justice but also the tools of punishment an axe, whips, staves, fearsome pincers and things that the guide book describes as "assorted implements of torture". As Santer enunciated the watered-down truisms of diplo-speak, he raised his suffering eyes to the figure of justice, and looked as if some of those implements had been used on him.

His draft speech had been nothing but the truth. Amsterdam produced a thin and spineless treaty, which may be why the British government was quietly satisfied with it. Meeting in Corfu in 1994, the European Council had defined the future task of the Amsterdam summit clearly enough: "The institu-

So where was everybody? tional conditions for ensuring the Everybody who is anybody, that is. must be created at the 1996 Interfor that reason must take place before accession negotiations begin".

As the strongly pro-European think-tank, the European Policy Centre, commented immediately after the Anisterdam treaty was agreed last June: "By that crucial litmus test the heads of government totally failed in their self-appointed task."

part of the solution in Europe rather There was no reweighting of votes within the Council of Ministers than part of the problem. and no reduction in the already un-So for all its disappointments as a wieldy number of 20 commissioners. treaty to remodel and modernise some of them visibly underemthe Union ready for the wave of new ployed. And the pattern now seems entrants, Amsterdam signalled a to be set that each of the new memhistoric shift in the political characbers will get their own commissionter of Europe. But beyond the comers too. That will mean 26 of them, mitment to monetary union, and the when there is really work for perrather less certain one to enlargehaps half that number. Amsterdam ment, nobody is sure what this new delivered some modest improve-Europe is becoming — which helps to explain last week's disappointing ment in the powers of the parliaits weaknesses, its great gaps — I ment, but no real streamlining of the I turnout at the signing party.

table fail to nourish UN COMMENT

Crumbs from the top

AMBERTO DINI, the Italian foreign minister, was looking gloomy as he cruised the corridors f the United Nations last week searching in vain for backers for his country's bid for a seat at the

lan Black

world's top table. He was not cracking jokes — and certainly not the old favourite in which a man whinges in a pantonime Italian accent: "Germany and Japan are going to join the Security Council. Why not us? We lost the war, too.'

From speeches in the General Assembly, it is clear that there is wide support for unfreezing the status quo to bring in the vanquished of 1945 - now two of the world's richest countries - and adding more seats round the table.

The UK Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, called explicitly for German and Japanese accession and for "a balance between developed and developing countries in a modernised Council", but he conspicuously

named no other names. This is no mere detail; most Latin American countries are not prepared to have Lusophone Brazil representing a predominantly Spanish-speaking continent, India and Pakistan have rival claims, as do Indonesia and Malaysia. Africa's hopefuls - Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt - are all problematic.

And that is just for starters, without the vexed question of whether the members of an expanded council, permanent or rotating, should have a veto. Vetoes are wickled only by the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain, otherwise known as the Permanent Five, (No one even dares ask whether the Europeans might share a seat.)

UN insiders argue that expansion is unlikely this year. Some wonder aloud whether the Permanent Pive, bottoms firmly on seats, are not talking up the issue and inflating ex-

This is part of a broader picture: hope of radical change at the UN, so high a few months ago when Kofi Annan took over as secretary-general from the much (and in many ways unfairly) reviled Boutros Boutros that greater effort is needed w Ghali, seem to be fading as the size of support the only United Nations the task ahead becomes apparent.

Mr Annan was followed to the ssembly podium by Bill Clinton seing many good things about it UN's role but also making it death for the coming only on US terms.

Their conditions for repayment include writing off nearly half to US debt of \$1.6 billion and reducing the US share of UN expenses from 25 per cent to 20 per cent, when?... share of world income is 27 pc;

So with little prospect of joy e the payment front, Mr Anna; other plans seem destined for the ble. He has done what he can he important parts of his reform pogramme require General Assembly

Tanzania's foreign ministr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, spoke fe many in the Third World when he bureaucracy a "basis for discussion" but argued that the emphasis shou! pe put on development projects.

Vested interests are hard to shirt ong-overdue plans to slim down the department for public information or example, are encountering opposition from the Group of 77, whose a hidden US hand behind a propoals which genuinely aims to make the institution more effective.

The North-South divide seem: e widening. As Mary Robinsoner barks on the novel mission of the UN's first commissioner for hum: rights, Malaysia's Mahathir Me named wants to rewrite the Univer sal Declaration of Human Rights take account of cultural differences

On another front, UN peacekeep ing, a staple of the immediate poscold-war years, is still reeling for the débacle in Somalia and a mixel record in Bosnia.

The net impression is that the lithe tiller under Mr Annan's stemm ship, but it looks unlikely to si very far. It is a truism that the UN is only

as effective as its members want to be. Not all 185 are equally suit of not trying hard enough. But mil plans being laid for a Millendur. assembly after the non-event of the 50th anniversary two years ago, t would be useful if everyone - from the US downwards - would admi that greater effort is needed w

### US death row inspected

THE United States is being put under the kind of scrutiny by the United Nations that it usually urges for other countries as an international team investigating its use of the death penalty toured the South last week.

The UN inquiry is being led by Bacre Ndiaye, a leading human rights investigator from Senegal. He is the second such UN monitor of the US. The first was on racism in 1992. Like his predecessor, Mr Ndiaye was initially welcomed by the administration, which approved his tour last year, and he was ex-

pecting to meet senior politicians. Requests were made to meet President Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore. Mr Ndiaye says he the death penalty. was especially eager to meet the attorney-general, Janet Reno, and

But these have been refused. During the first few days of his lost some time. Quarrelling inside NZF visiting prisons and trying to talk b politicians. Mr Ndiaye had to b content with junior officials, t congressmen, and no senators.

Officials at the UN were until to point out, however, that Mr Na aye was touring Washington during the penultimate week of the cal gressional term, and that political

were "very, very busy".

Mr Ndiaye was appointed in the auspices of the UN Commis on Human Rights, which with member states to enforce an inte national convention curbing the pansion of "summary or arbits executions. He said the US second, after China, in expan

### Bickering poisons New Zealand coalition

Anthony Hubbard in Wellington

EW ZEALAND'S experiment with coslition government has turned into a shambles. One year after the country switched from the first-past-the-post system to the German form of proportional representation, its politics have acquired an air of farce and bewil-

The centre-right coalition led by two former foes — the prime minis-ter, Jim Bolger, and the deputy prime minister, Winston Peters is now profoundly unpopular. A series of scandals and spats has slashed support for Mr Peters's New Zealand First (NZF) party to

This in turn has poisoned the senior coalition partner, Mr Bolger's conservative National party. National has plummeted in the polls, putting Mr Bolger's leadership under sericalled the proposals for a kaon Nous threat. The matey embrace of the two politicians now threatens to strangle them both.

Mr Peters, a populist turned kingmaker after NZF won 13 per cent of the vote at last October's election, has suffered two huge defeats in recent weeks. Last month voters overwhelmingly rejected by 92 per cent in a referendum his proposal for a compulsory

superannuation scheme. Earlier, a commission of inquiry found that Mr Peters had no evi dence to back his accusation that large companies were practising tax evasion. The Winebox affair, so



Peters: his support has collapsed

allegedly incriminating documents were found, has been a long-

numing Peters campaign.

Mr Peters's problems are beginging to rile Mr Bolger. Speaking after mounting strife within NZF, Mr Bolger said that the coalition had to be seen to be listening to the electorate, "which is very clearly saying, 'Stop the nonsense, get on with the job".

The "nonsense" has persisted for came to a head late last month while Mr Peters was overseas. Neil Kirton accused a fellow NZF MP, cabinet ninister Tuariki Delamere, of lying. te then crossed the floor of the

House to vote with the opposition. Mr Kirton has become some thing of a loose cannon since being saked as associate health minister after a long-running dispute over privatisation with National's health minister, Bill English, He also claims there has been a cover-up wer the winding-back of odometers mimported cars — an accusation relected by Mr Delamere, who re-

placed bins as Customs minister. Tau Henare, Mr. Peters's party eputy, added to the coalition's hoes by breaking cabinet ranks over the case of a terminally ill

64-year-old man refused kidney dis-lysis. While Mr English said the revealed that while working for a state-funded Maori television staissue was a decision for doctors to tion before he became an MP, Mr make, Mr Henare said it showed the whole system was faulty.

mounting dissension. As Jenny Bloxham, who earlier resigned as NZF's vice-president, said in defence of the right of party MPs to speak out: "We are down to 1.9 per cent in the polls - what have we

There is now mounting panic and

got to lose?" Fifteen of NZF's 17 MPs are new o parliament, and they often appear lost, Tukoroirangi Morgan caused the first scandal, before the traditional honeymoon period for a new government had even begun. It was

Morgan spent NZ\$4,000 in expenses on clothing, including \$89 on a pair of boxer shorts. "Tuku's underpants" caused an uproar, and continue to flutter as an emblem of greed and ineptitude.

have adopted a self-styled "warrior" approach to politics, and frightened the other half of Mr Peters's power base - the pakeha (white) pensioners. And Mr Peters himself got into an undignified fracas in a parliamentary corridor earlier this year with a redneck National party MP, John

Some of his fellow Maori MPs

Now Mr Peters's support in his flagship electorate of Tauranga has collapsed. His electorate campaign chairman, Roly Hammond, resigned n protest at the Maori MPs' "antics".

All this has rubbed off on the National party, which also has its own problems. Christine Fletcher, a minster outside cabinet, resigned last month and called for Mr Bolger's head. The main question now is when the coup will be staged.

All these ructions within government have deepened disenchantment with the new electoral system, known as Mixed Member Proportional (MMP). Voters chose it in reaction to the broken promises of Labour and National, who since 1984

have carried out a thorough-going Thatcherite reform of the economy. Mr Peters, sacked from Mr Bolger's National cabinet in 1992, took

his new party to power by campaigning against political treachery. He stands accused of the very same thing: before the election he vowed to "get rid" of the National party. He is now their coalition partner.

Defenders of MMP argue that the trouble lies not with the system but the country's politicians. Yet most voters cannot disentangle the two.

Now Mr Bolger, in a desperate attempt to shore up his crumbling administration, has launched a new rightwing initiative for further pri-vatisation. It is "springtime" in New Zealand, he said this month, and time for renewal. For his government, however, there seems no end

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The U'wa people of Colombia have a way of life devoted to keeping the planet alive. For them, the prospect of international oil companies drilling their land portends the end of the world. John Vidal reports

### A tribe's suicide pact

HE U'wa are one of South America's | he cannot invite us in because, he says, we more remote and mystical people.

They have lived in the foothills and cloudforests of the Andes in northeast Colombia since, they believe, the world began, and had almost no contact with the outside world until 40 years ago. And in all that time, in all their immense oral history, there is no record of them ever having fought outsiders or each other, of them causing any pollution, or of them taking anything that was not always theirs. Yet now, this retiring, self-governing society, which believes that it exists only to keep the world in harmony, faces certain apocalypse because of the inroads made into their lands by British and United States oil

To reach the small U'wa communities up in the mountains, you have to leave the Colombian plains, ford several rivers and then follow the tracks that lead up to the fields cleared from the forest 35 years ago by colonist farmers. There, you must wait for several days on the edge of the U'wa's territory, hoping to gain the trust of their spiritual leaders. If and when that trust is given, there is another long hike through bog, bush and jungle until you come to a near-vertical 500-metre escarpment cliff. You then follow the mountain streams up the cliff, led by machete and luminous blue, handkerchief-sized butterflies. Occasionally, the sun breaks through the canopy, but mostly there is no sense of a world beyond. Exhausted, scratched and bitten, you finally emerge at the top of the cliff. Clouds hang like smoke on the valley sides below. Behind you. the great Cobaria river snakes away to the Orinoco and the Amazon Basin; to the north is Venezuela and the ever-rising hills leading up to the Sierra Nevada de Cocuy and its snow-topped peaks.

In pre-colonial days, the U'wa ranged across an area the size of Wales; today, most of the few thousand people who remain have re treated to the mountains to preserve their culture in the face of incursions by white settlers. Their 100,000-hectare designated territory is just 10 per cent of their ancestral lands. It is a remote place, far from the cities, the drug and oil economies, and the guerrilla warfare that is now tearing lowland Colombia apart.

An old man, a string bag on his shoulder and with hands coloured orange from pulping fruit, beckons us from the edge of his banana patch and calls with a monkey yelp to his Spanish-speaking son, Betencaro, Betencaro is a tubby. Pan-like figure, with the softest of handshakes and the eagerness of a child. The 400m walk through the forest to his house takes an hour as he stops every few yards to show us his world. "This is what we eat," he says. He bends down, picks and strips a plant, exposes its heart and offers it. "Here is a plate" - he picks off a leaf, bends it four ways like macrame, and pierces the corners with a hard, spiky grass. This root is a medicine for the stomach . . . Here, taste this, it's an anaesthetic" - it leaves my mouth numb within s. He calls to the birds and the frogs and shows us where the aphrodisiacal honey comes from.

There is nothing in the forest that Betencaro and the U'wa do not use. These berries make soap; that fungus (he points to a tree) lights fires. He makes furniture with this creeper, bags from that. Here's a vine good for bow strings. This is where the cuchi-cuchi (monkeys) live; where the birds collect.

We eat bark and berry, root, tuber, bean, fruit and leaf. Betencaro is laughing his head off, beaming at his sufficiency. Everything in this cloudy Garden of Eden is useful to him. Except for one plant with a small white flower. "Hah," he says, tearing it up by the root and throwing it to the forest floor as if he were a National Trust gardener finding ground elder: "The Christians brought that It promises everything, but it's useless."

We reach his house, which, like his father's, I ture. The tribe's oral history recounts how in is surrounded by a chaos of coca bushes, ba- the 16th century one large Uwa community,

will upset the gods who determine his every action and thought. He would have to get a wedhaiya (U'wa spiritual leader) to breathe on our clothes, to purify us and to prevent our culture from contaminating his home. So we sit outside and talk of the one thing that is occupying U'wa minds. Oil.

One hundred and sixty kilometres to the east, where the Cobaria river spills first through the state of Arauca before moving on to a landlocked floodplain, is the Caño Limon oilfield. It is one of the world's largest, with more than 1,200 million barrels of oil, and it earns Colombia hundreds of millions of dollars a year. The oilfield is licensed to the US oil corporation Occidental (Oxy), which is in equal partnership with the Anglo-Dutch corporation, Shell, Ecopetrol, Colombia's state oil ompany, has a smaller share.

The diametrically opposed worlds of the I'wa and the petrol companies - of consumerisin and mysticism, of corporations and the self-sufficient - are clashing terribly in South America, and especially in Colombia, Peru and Ecuador, which are set to displace the Middle East as the preferred source of US oil.

Where the Uwa depend on the natural inaccessibility of their habitat to protect their culture, these oil companies protect their 5,000-hectare holding with 3m-high coils of razor wire and miles of steel fences. Oxy and Shell pay a "war tax" of \$1 per barrel (about \$180,000 a day) to pay for the protection of the Colombian army from the escalating

At Caño Limon we are met by nervouslooking young men with machine guns who spend their days in concrete pillboxes or in a bullet-splattered guard post. Oxy representaives are waiting for us, too. Even so, it takes us half an hour and five radio and mobile telephone calls to pass through three sets of security gates into a manicured colonial compound that would do justice to Club Mediterranée. There are swimming pools, athletic tracks, tennis and racket courts, gynmasia, restaurants a hospital helicopter pads, shops. Everything must be brought in from outside to cater for the 150 oilworkers who live here for months at a stretch, not daring to leave for fear of being shot or kidnapped by the competing armies of guerrillas. It is like a war

zone mixed with a holiday camp. Photographs and images on the walls celebrate speed, power and, above all, the triumph of oil production and the companies' domination of nature. This river has been straightened, millions of tonnes of earth have been moved, lakes filled in, new ones formed. This is the great pipeline that crosses the mountains to export the oil.

T THEIR current rate of output, Shell and Oxy have only about 10 years' exploitation left of the Caño Limon, and with the end in sight for this fabulously profitable field, they are searching for new sites. They have been licensed by the Colombian government to explore and exploit a large block of land called Samoré. The problem is that Samoré includes a sizeable part of the U'wa's existing, and much of their ancestral,

The companies have already spent \$16 million on seismic studies, which revealed that Samoré holds as much oil as Caño Limon. But for the Uwa, any incursion on to their territory would be devastating, and their response is categorical: if and when Shell and Oxy move in to their mountains, the tribal leaders say that many U'wa will throw themselves off a high cliff called The Cliff Of Death in an act of mass ritual suicide. For the U'wa, this both dignity and culture intact, they say, than

to see their world torn apart. Mass ritual suicide is part of the U wa cul-



An U'wa tribeswoman in the Colombian rainforest

Cliff Of Death. All U'wa territory is consid- | for in the Colombian embassy in London, "to ered sacred, but there are some areas, the cliff included, where no one may go. Uwa history relates that, faced with being forced to move on to this forbidden land, the tribe put their children in clay pots and cast them off the cliff before leaping backwards after them. If the U'wa carry out their threat, they will go back to The Cliff Of Death.

For the government, the U'wa's decision is 'philosophical dilemma" that is threatening to become an international incident, according to Rodrigo Villamizar, the disgraced former minister of mines and petrol who resigned in August following a corruption scandal. James Niehaus, vice-president of Oxy Worldwide Production in California, calls it "tragic". The U'wa say it would be the end of the world, and the people of Colombia are horrified. On a recent trip to London, Villamizar said, "My son asks me, 'Daddy, are you going to make the hulians jump off the cliff?'."

Colombia's constitution requires it to protect its 84 tribes of indigenous peoples, but the country has an equal duty to develop its resources for the benefit of all. The circle is impossible to square because the U'wa do not want financial recompense, development or mything that the state or the neo-liberal economy can offer. They want to be left alone, like the Kogui tribe in the north of the country, which has withdrawn from all contact with white society. The U'wa way of life is not negotiable, they say. It is the ultimate peaceful

But there are billions of dollars at stake, and oil is now Colombia's main export. The Uwa are semi-autonomous, and their lands are protected, but they do not own the mineral rights. Colombia's highest constitutional court ruled in February that Occidental and the government were guilty of violating the fundamental right of consultation with the U'wa, and were threatening their ethnic, cultural, social and economic identity. Within weeks, however, the higher administrative court effectively overruled this verdict and reinstated the Oxy/Shell mining permit. The current legal position is that the Samoré oilfield can now be developed whenever Shell would be a positive act - better to die with | and Oxy decide to move in. The result is a tense political stand-off, with the companies and the government believing that they can still persuade the U wa to accept oil development on their land.

"No one has encountered a case like this names and fruit trees. Betencaro regrets that | in retreat from the Spaniards, came to The | before," says Eduardo Munoz-Gomez, minis-

can't afford one person committing suicide."

Oxy's stance is more hardline. The suide threat is little more than a gesture, "a threat. says Gerardo Vargas, an Oxy community relations officer in Arauca. Besides, says the corporation, there is no written evidence of the Uwa spicides in the 16th century. The U'wa are not going to jump," says Vargas." will commit suicide myself first. I know them Suicide is not the philosophy of the Uwa; They have allowed themselves to get cornered. One of the problems of their culture's that they do not agree amongst themselves Everyone is completely individualistic."

But who, exactly, has Oxy been talking to Vargas claims that the corporation has been in continual "negotiation" and "talks" with the I'wa since the application was made in 1985. The II'wa, he says, were on the point of signing an agreement as late as 1993. He call them his friends.

The reality is that Oxy has talked to only one small, geographically isolated Uwa group on a consistent basis, and all of them are more or less integrated with white society, if living it poverty. The corporation has talked to no spin tual leaders and has never visited the min U'wa communities or power centres. Only fire people in a community of several thousand seem prepared to say that they want the oil b come. All five have connections with 0% Only one of them speaks U'wa, and four live

In May, these five were the "Uwi nity representatives" at a meeting in Bogolate discuss the situation with a group of senators Also there were senior Oxy executives, 2 government-paid anthropologist, the pres dent of the state oil company Ecopetrol and three state ministers — of mines, interlorand environment. The five "U'wa representative signed a document stating that they were in favour of oil exploitation with certain profi sions: protection of the environment, some programmes and "sustainable development";

When pressed recently, however, one will that she is "not exactly" in favour of oil at ploitation on U'wa land. She sees hersell someone trying to find a solution and and conflict.

Only one or two outsiders have ever tles and the wedhaiya. Ann Osborn, at the given full access to the main Uwa com ford university anthropologist, went to live Colombia in 1958 when she was in her can continued on page

Continued from page 8 twenties and spent more than 10 years with the Uwa in the 1970s and 1980s, and helped

in the tribe's fight to secure its territory. Osborn died in 1988, but her life's work is two books describing a complex, mystical society rooted in ritual and myth, and led by he purest in the tribe, the elected wedhaiva The Uwa, says Osborn, attach a spiritual value to everything. They believe that they are the centre of a living earth and that they perpetuate all life by protecting it. Echoing James Lovelock's Gaia theory and radical science that proposes that the earth is holistically a living organism, the U'wa say everything from land, tree and rock to river, sky and place - is alive and therefore sacred.

The U'wa protect the land not just in the strict environmental sense that they never waste, pollute or take more than the land can bear, but also in ritual chant and dance. Rather as the Australian Aboriginals have their songlines, so the U'wa daily sing the world into creation by reciting their myths and their place names. They keep the world alive by, literally, singing it. The birds, too, create places by chanting the names of the areas they fly over. Everything, said Osborn, that the U'wa do or think is focused to "protect and continue life".

SBORN describes a world bound by its environment. The traditional Uwa still practise swidden agriculture, moving up from the lower slopes to higher ones according to the season. Their many different myths are performed seasonally, accompanied by rituals led by the wedhaiya. Although the tribe has barely enough land for everyone in the reservation, it is largely an unchanging world, in stark contrast to what Uwa leaders refer to as the "ever-changing" nature of white society.

And as part of their cosmology, the U'wa world above is mirrored below the earth. In this inverted universe live shadow people alter egos of those living on the surface. Here n the underworld, the sun rises in the west and sets in the east. "In psychological terms," wrote Osborn, "this relates with the world of the psyche and the different levels of the conscious and unconscious.

The sense of mystery is everywhere. On reaching puberty, young U'wa women put on nead-dresses, or cocaras, made of giant leaves from which they can see only through a small slit in the front. They wear them until someone asks to marry them, which can take four or more years. Then there are the 12 menhirs, great standing stones like those at Stonenenge, which Osborn believed were the pillars of the U'wa's spiritual world. U'wa myth says that when the last one falls, the world ends. Only two still stand.

But what about oil? Osborn doesn't menion it, but the U'wa say they have always had word for it - ruiria. "For them, it is the blood of Mother Earth, the veins of the land," says Edgar Mendez, an anthropologist who has worked with the U'wa for two years. "The hvasion of another world into their territory above or below ground — is death. To exfract it would tear their spiritual world apart."

We return from the mountains, stumbling in the dark, having barely been granted access to the U'wa's main communities. Pepé, a semi-pet coypu, is being grilled over wood a lowland U'wa family that farms an old colonist ranch. Berichá Kubar'uwa, president of the traditional Uwa council, swings in a linous and human-rights groups — documents

hammock with a child. In his pocket, he has a | the reality of life in the Caño Limon since oil "clock" insect that whistles on the U'wa hour. was exploited. Just 15 years ago, this was a sleepy, under-populated frontier land, but the "We had lots of hours before the Spanish pilifield attracted tens of thousands of dis-Berichá is weary. The communities will placed people, who flooded into the area in die," he sighs. "We can't give permission to search of work. With them came two full develop oil. You can't sell Mother Moon. We mobile brigades of the Colombian army, paid don't even sell our timber or cattle, so why for by Shell and Oxy, who are accused of would we want to try to sell the blood of atrocities by Amnesty International and Mother Earth? For us, the earth is sacred: it is Colombian human-rights group

'Oil companies have always got what they wanted by taking advantage of others' weaknesses. This time it is not working'

Oil has also attracted, like flies to the ointment, the well-armed ELN and FARC, Coloniernment will sit down with us to see how we bia's two main guerrilla groups. Also in the area are shadowy, pro-government paracan live with Oxy and their oil exploration in military death squads paid for unofficially by the military or the police. An estimated 6,000 lieve that the sun and the moon only work people in Arauca now survive by murder, kidnapping and extortion.

The militarisation of the area has developed into a feudal war. Government records note that, in the past year, there have been 38 assassinations, 18 massacres, 31 incidents of torture, 44 kidnappings, 151 illegal detentions, 360 incidents of harassment, 150 disthe Pacific Ocean, studied it for many hours, placements of people, and one disappearance. A judicial investigation documents further murders, illegal detentions and human rights abuses. Few believe these figures cover even half the atrocities that have taken place.

> HE government, the oil companies and the local authorities say the war is escalating. The 600km oil pipeline - paid for by Shell and Oxy and operated by Ecopetrol that starts in Caño Limon and takes more than half of Colombia's oil to the Caribbean coast has been bombed and mined 473 times since it was completed in 1986. There were 47 attacks in the first six months of 1997 alone. The 1.5 million barrels of oil split in the bombings have caused "irreparable pollution" to the environ-ment, says Oxy. Put together, they constitute the sixth-largest oil spill in history. Many oil workers have been killed. Ominously, says the company, the ELN and FARC are now working

> together against them. The ecological and social situation is disturbing, too. Local unions and churches have documented the side-effects of oil exploitation in the region. These include invasion of land. pollution of the air, rivers and soil, the loss of climatic changes. With these ecological problems have come social disintegration — prostitution, drugs, alcoholism, malnutrition delinquency and divisions in society. The nomadic Guahibos, the only indigenous group living in the area when the oilmen came, have

been reduced to begging.
"Life was tranquil before the oil," says the half. "Today . . . people are forgetting the basic principles of togetherness and are unable to adapt . . . With the contamination of the land

has come cultural and spiritual contamination." This puts Oxy in a ditemma. While it needs to keep the international community and the global financial markets abreast of production to present a different face to the Colombian people when asked if it will bring a similar destabilisation of society in Samoré, and especially Uwa territory, if it begins oil production | body does. No, it is not a gesture."

there. Rather than accept any responsibility for the chaos, Oxy claims to be a "good neighbour", and points to the social and financial initiatives it has designed to help local communities. The corporation says that in Caho Limon it has paid \$100 million of taxes to the local government in the past 12 years. Oxy is reticent about what will happen to the region when the oil runs out.

Rather than accept that their presence has been responsible for the militarisation of the region, Oxy and Shell blame the guerrillas for the plight of the U'wa. "The U'wa are virtually tostages in their own land, controlled by groups engaged in illegal and nurderous acts, ncluding drug and gun trafficking," says Niehaus, Oxy's vice-president. "As a result, they are prevented from making decisions about their future without interference and intimidation - decisions that could make the difference between survival and the extinction of their community." The Uwa reply that they have had no contact with the guerrillas and that they mostly support their struggle. The guerrillas, they say, target the oil companies, not them.

So does Oxy accept that the same social and ecological disasters will take place in Samore if they and Shell start production? With all the logic of a massive corporation in California. Niehaus says that the Uwa need Oxy and oil. Without the development that the companies will bring, he claims, the U'wa are doomed: "Young people will continue to leave the area to seek opportunities elsewhere, and the communities will not be able to continue their traditional way of life. The simple fact is that U'wa society is changing as a result of complex socio-economic factors that have nothing to do with oil development."

The neo-liberal government still cannot believe that the U'wa will carry out their threats, or that the oil development will be slopped.

Nevertheless. Oxy now suggests it may be able to extract oil without going into Uwa lands, by using advanced technologies to drill horizontally from the side. The Uwa are not impressed, and have raised the stakes by saying that they will now commit suicide if any oil is taken out of their ancestral territory. They are now seeking to have their lands extended.

For Oxy and Shell, it must all be rather confusing. In the can-do global economy of oil and international diplomacy, everyone they have encountered so far has had a price; everything can be negotiated and every situa-tion mediated. The Uwa's position questions their whole presence and exposes their flaws. "They talk a different language and speak from another world," says Mendez.

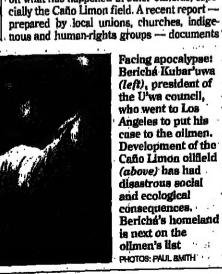
"The companies talk about social responsibility, but they refuse to accept responsibility for the impact of their work," says Martin von Hildebrand. Colombia's former environment minister who framed the constitutional laws to protect indigenous people's rights in 1991 and who now works with the Gais Foundation in Bogotá. "Everywhere else, from South America to Africa, they have got what they wanted by taking advantage of the weakness of instiutions, playing one group off against another, dividing people, working on the young, and offering gifts. This time, it is not working."

Yesterday's mirrors and beads have become today's roads, health and education centres, says Von Hildebrand. The U'wa are rather than lose their identity and their purose, which is to keep the world alive. Where the whole of Colombian society is being destabilised by the rush to embrace a global economy, they pose unanswerable questions.

The hot afternoon rain pours down in Casa Roja. D, the daughter of a wedhaiya who wishes to remain anonymous for fear of report, which was carried out on the Uwa's be- reprisals, says that the situation is confusing and dangerous. Are there not simple truths and laws that exist for everyone and everything, she asks. Fundamental laws that cannot be changed on the whim of men in Los Angeles, London or Bogota?

"I sing the traditional songs to my children," she says. "I teach them that everything delays and problems with the guerrillas, it has | is sacred and linked. How can I tell Shell and Oxy that to take the petrol is for us worse than killing your own mother? If you kill the earth, then no one will live. I do not want to die. No-





not for violation, exploitation or negotiation; it

is to be cared for, to be conserved. The gov-

our territory, without our culture being de-

stroved. But for us, this is impossible. We be-

If you take out the blood, then you damage the earth and cause imbalance."

Earlier this year, Berichá and Mendez were

flown to California by a small US environmen-

tal group to confront top Oxy executives at

their headquarters. Bericha sat on the edge of

and then searched and sang his traditional

songs to understand what his history had to

say. He told the oilmen how the earth is con-

nected to the sun and the moon. There is no

The U'wa believe that they are doomed be-

cause to extract the oil would be to drain the

earth of its blood. They are prepared to die for

their beliefs, but they are also increasingly

aware that, in cold, practical terms, the effec-

tive end of their tribe is more likely be caused

by the guerrilla warfare that accompanies the

oil industry in Colombia. They will have no

On July 1, war nearly came to the U'wa liv-

ing in the small community of Casa Roja. At

9am, a column of 30 armed men came up the

track, the first guerrillas seen in the area. A

military patrol was waiting for them. Two peo-

ple died in a brief firefight that ended when a

plane dropped four bombs within metres of

the houses. An Uwa villager, Yaquie, shows

us the bullet holes in three of her walls. "If oil

comes, there will be more of this," she says.

Yaquie and the other U'wa base their fears

"It is inevitable. We will die."

earthly way of defending themselves

sense that they understood

with the earth because she has blood.

An opinion poll dented Mr Hague's credibility by showing support for the Tories to be at an alltime low of 22 points (support for Tony Blair's New Labour has risen by 16 points since the general election) and suggesting that only 6 per cent think he would make the best prime minister - the lowest rating ever given to a new leader.

Michael Heseltine, always a star turn at Tory conferences, chose to stay away. He no longer has leadership ambitions. Other Tory heavies - Baroness Thatcher, Lord Parkinson and John Major - bravely rallied around the new leader, but the former Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, gave a sharp reminder that internal divisions over Europe are as deep as ever. Mr Clarke held open the possibility of early entry to a single European currency, though the stance of the new shadow cabinet is firmly against joining and during the Tory leadership contest Mr Hague ruled out entry for the next 10 years. Tory backbench MPs will be allowed a free vote if the issue arises.

Following a crude ballot of party members to endorse his leadership, Mr Hague was expected to push through far-reaching changes to the party's structure. The Conservative party does not actually exist as a legal entity, so he proposes to combine its autonomous parts - MPs. Central Office and the National Union - into a single body with a governing board. This would aim to increase grassroots membership from about 300,000 now to 1 million by the turn of the century.

In response to the tide of sleaze which helped to undermine John Major's administration, the new leadership will have the right to expel or suspend MPs or members who bring the party into disrepute. Constituency toilers will also be given a say — indirectly, through an electoral college — in the choice of From such beginnings Mr Hague

- variously known as Hague the Vague and Billy the Kid - hopes to re-create a credible political force.



# Tory leader this century

but not quite rigorously enough to tame the ebullient Minister for Sport, Tony Banks, who entertained his audience at a leftwing fringe meeting by saying the Tories had "elected a foetus as leader". He added, for good measure: "I bet a lot of them now wish they had not voted against abortion." After incurring the wrath of pro-

life groups and the displeasure of the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, Mr Banks apologised for what he admitted was a tasteless remark, made off the cuff. His ministerial job was said to be safe for the time being.

Mr Banks had some fun, at the same meeting, over the discomfiture of Peter Mandelson, Mr Blair's closest confident, who failed to win a place on Labour's National Executive Committee. He said: "It's not nice to kick a man when he's down - but it's safer, isn't it?"

Labour conference, page 12

NDREW MORTON came A under attack from several quarters for publishing Diana: Her True Story In Her Own Words an updated version of a book published in 1992 which, he said then, had been based on information gleaned from the princess's friends. The latest book contains an 18,000word transcript of recordings made by the princess and an admission that it was she who had provided the evidence for the original

volume through a doctor friend. Diana's executors talked of seeking an injunction to ban the book on the grounds that Mr Morton did not own the copyright on the recorded words. The princess's brother, Earl Spencer, also threatened legal action, but the publishers went ahead, and the book sold briskly.

Comment, page 14

OLICE forces in England and Wales reported that high-calibre handguns, which became illegal after Tuesday last week, had mostly been handed in by their owners. The Home Office will now meet compensation claims that are expected to total around £500 million. The owner of one diamondencrusted Smith and Wesson pistol surrendered in Sussex will be claimng £65,000

Nearly all the collected guns will be melted down except for a few weapons of historical interest. which will be offered to museums.

THE FIRST authorised boxing match between British women was called off after protests over the two 13-year-olds who were due to fight at a nightclub in Stoke-on-

Emma Brammer withdrew hours before she was due to meet Andrea Prime in the ring. She blamed hostile media reaction to the proposed bout, but the two girls say they will meet at a secret venue to stage their

and will be given powers to escort them home or take them to contest in private. the local police station to be col-The Amateur Boxing Association lected by their parents. Social has just changed its rules to allow workers may be informed. The competitive fights between women. move has been condemned as Previously they had been allowed "heavy-handed and draconian" only to spar. by civil liberties campaigners.

# Blair to emphasise human rights

N A defiant gesture underlining Britain's commitment to human rights and democracy in Africa, the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has issued a personal invitation to the ousted president of Sierra Leone to attend this month's Commonwealth summit in Edinburgh.

Mr Blair, chairing the biennial meeting on October 24, will also be in the chair when the Queen makes an unprecedented speech to the opening session in the city's international conference centre.

In the past, the Queen, the Head of the Commonwealth, has stayed deliberately behind the scenes. hosting a banquet for leaders but avolding any public involvement. Mr Blair's invitation to President

Dirty tactics . . . environmental activists covered themselves in mud

during a mass trespass in protest of a planned expansion of Durnford

Police announce youth curfew

Police in Kent and parts of

Strathclyde is the first to order

London have imposed curlews on problem housing estates, but

youngsters off the streets through-

out a town. Local officers say the move is designed to protect chil-

dren and to address public fears

The Government said the move

was "a welcome step forward"

which mirrored policy-making on

youth crime south of the border.

Henry McLeish, the Scottish

said: "The curfew will mean that

people on the streets who are

going to create mischief will be

dealt with and vulnerable young

But Alan Miller, of the Scot-

tish Council for Civil Liberties,

said: "The people and Parlia-

police power to deprive people

of their liberties in this way."

ment have not yet given the

people protected."

Office home affairs minister.

of violence and harassment.

mestone quarry near Bristol

THE Strathclyde police force

is set to become the first in

Britain to impose a duak-to-dawn

officers sald last week that a pilot

scheme in Lanarkshire later his

successful, writes John Arlidge.

Children in Hamilton,

10 miles east of Glasgow, will

dark and early in the morning

unless they have a "reasonable

excuse" to be out. The rules will

apply to children playing foot-ball, walking in a park or meet-

ing friends in the town centre.

Officers will question children

be banned from the streets after

curfew on under-16s. Senior

ınder Commonwealth rules is a deliberate attempt by Britain to sharpen the organisation's muchheralded respect for human rights and democracy. Under the terms of the 1991

Harare Declaration committing Commonwealth members to an agenda of human rights and democracy — by which Nigeria was sus-pended at the last summit in Auckland for hanging Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists -Sierra Leone was suspended from "the councils of the Commonwealth" after the president was ousted in May's military coup.

Britain has refused to recognise the junta and continues to treat Mr Kabbah as the democratically elected head of state. Mr Blair's invitation allows him to attend as head Ahmed Kabbah as "a special guest" | of the Sierra Leone delegation.

"It can only do good to the Con-ntonwealth and Britain," said on official at the organisation's Landon headquarters. "If the elected presdent is replaced by a gaggle of sol diers and we do nothing, no one w take us seriously."

Commonwealth supporters we comed the move. "It's a signal for the Government that they really are pursuing a human rights-oriented policy and underlines the fact that Britain doesn't like military coup my more," said one. Last week, Mr Kabbah addressel

the United Nations general assenbly and issued a "desperate appeal" to the international community to "save a nation". Few other surprises are expected

in Edinburgh, with broad agree |

### Rules eased to oust bad teachers

Rebecca Smithers

TEACHERS' organisations, em- ployers, churches and school agreed new fast-track disciplinary rules for the profession which in ecreme cases will lead to incompetent teachers being dismissed in just on

Under outline "capability procedures" published last week by Acas the independent arbitration service. most teachers found to be incomptent will be given two terms - six months - to show an improvement before being handed their notice.

Unions retracted their opposition to an earlier government proposal that in cases where pupils education is being jeopardised, teachers should be given only four weeks to They were, however, privately

claiming a moral victory by getting a new category of "gross incomp lence" struck out of the document. The report will now be submitted

o the schools standards minister. Stephen Byers, who in July asked the working group of school repre sentatives from the churches, governors, the national employers body and the six teachers' organisations to draw up an outline structure.

plained bitterly about the Govern ment's constant attacks on "falling" teachers, welcomed the agreement as likely to boost morale by trigger ing the expulsion of a small but troublesome group.

the Association of Teachers and Lecturers, said: While there remains a public perception that there is a problem with incompetent teachers who are impossible to remove from their posts, the whole of the profes sion is tainted. There must be a hu mane but efficient procedure supporting and training those wh can be helped to improve and to

dismissing those who do not.

The Teacher Training Agency to launch a national campaign to recruit teachers and give the profe aion a positive image in response to worsening crisis as student number rise and applications for teacher training fail. A £1.5 million adverte ing budget will spread the message. No one forgets a good teacher.

ment that Nigeria will remain sos pended rather than face expulsion.

> ICHAEL MAVOR, chairman VI of the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference which represents leading independent schools, called for the abolition of GCSE exams which were, he said, providing pupils with an "inadequate preparation" for advanced study.

most of them in Turkey.

fail to report being assaulted because they fear retaliation.

QUARTER OF all secondary school pupils in England and a third of those in Scotland have tried to buy cigarettes in he past year, according to a report by the Office of National atistics. The survey found that 13 per cent of 11- to 15-year-

OUISE WOODWARD, aged 19, went on trial in the ourder of a nine-month-old aby in her care while she worked as a nanny for the

REVOR REES JONES, the sole survivor of the crash that killed Diana, Princess of

response to increasing conmer demand for free-range food products.

In Brief

### Sinn Fein: 'We aim to smash the Union'

The Sinn Fein president, Gerry dams, had offered some hope that

Sinn Fein might sell to its support-

ers a devolved assembly and cross-

border institutions as an interim

Mr McGuinness left little room

to suggest that Sinn Fein's participa-

"I think [Ulster Unionist party

step to the end of the Union.

tition, he said.

John Mullin in Belfast

ARTIN McGUINNESS, Sinn Fein's chief negotiator, raised Metropolitan Police, made an outspoken attack on police orruption in which he said the political temperature surroundthere is a "significant number" ing this week's multi-party talks on of criminals serving in his Northern Ireland's future, with a 27,000-member force. blistering speech last Sunday making it clear that republicans were aiming to "smash the Union".

PPROXIMATELY 30,000 The uncompromising language of Awomen became pregnant his speech, at a rally in the nationalecause of the "pill scare" two ist heartland of Coalisland, County years ago when women were Tyrone, will worry the Secretary o warned that some oral contra State for Northern Ireland, Mo ceptives carried an increased Mowlam. It says republicans will risk of blood closts, according to settle for nothing less than Irish new research. More than unity, and so effectively dims the 10,000 of the "extra" pregnan prospect of an agreed settlement des ended in abortion. arising from the talks at Stormont.

THE tour operator Sun Tours collapsed, leaving 8,000 British holidaymakers stranded,

CHOOLS are failing to tackle the increasing problem of violence by pupils, according to areport by the Suzy Lamplugh Trust. It found that pupils carry langerous weapons at one in 10 schools and that teachers often

ilds are regular smokers.

Inited States charged with the aby's parents.

HE Government faces a bill of more than £100 million in mages for a miner's condition lown as "dead man's fingers" after the High Court in Newcastle awarded £127,000 to seven

Wales, Dodi Al Fayed and their driver, Henri Paul, left hospital in Paris and flew home to Britain.

ARKS & SPENCER super-markets have stopped stocking battery-farmed eggs in

Rowse has died aged 94

British military forces to take a step

"Sinn Fein is not going to the negotiating table to strengthen the Union. We are going into the negotiating table to smash the Union."

for such manoeuvring. He called for Sinn Fein has spent months talkan end to "fancy footwork" and said ing more moderately in an effort to Sinn Fein would repudiate attempts secure the Unionists' presence at to "set all sorts of constraints" to the the talks. But in his speech Mr discussions. Unionists were wrong McGuinness suggested that they were a side show. tion meant a tacit recognition of par-

"The key player we have to negoliate with is the Government. We are bringing a message to them that leader) David Trimble should be it's time for British rule to end. That made aware that we have not strugls Tony Blair's big job."
While there is little doubt Mr gled for 27 years against the might

of the British government and the McGuinness's robust language was

partly designed to please his audience, it was also aimed at all the talks' participants. It is a marked departure from recent Sinn Fein language. Mr Adams released a statemen

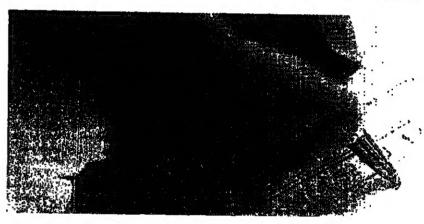
UK NEWS 11

which chimed with Mr McGuinness's speech, though its style was more muted.

Ken Maginnis, the Ulster Union ists' security spokesman, rejected Mr McGuinness's analysis. "The position of any group within the Union is open to discussion. But the Union itself is not on the table," he said.

Sinn Fein may simply be taking advantage of the absence of Mr Trimble and his deputy, John Taylor, who are in Washington for a series of meetings, to play its toughest negotiating hand yet. But it will be difficult for Mr McGuinness to row back on such a robust espousal of Irish unity. He is ruling out compromise.

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SKETCH

Simon Hoggart

TONY BLAIR walked on to the music of Saint-Saëns, specifically the part used as the theme of Babe. This is the popular film about a shy talking piglet who learns to round up flocks of docile, disciplined sheep. Just a coincidence, of course.

The same tune was the last music played at Princess Diana's funeral, but I should think that was a coincidence too Almost certainly.

We had just seen a video depicting Five Months of Glorious Progress. Election promises honoured! Blair Triumphs in Amsterdam! Ragged cheers greeted these heroic declarations, reminding us that New Labour has always had trouble distinguishing between a deci-sion and an achievement.

The Prime Minister walked briskly on stage. The audience rose to him in a standing ovation which turned out, perhaps, to be slightly more enthusiastic than the one at the end.

It was not so much a speech as a presentation; the audience was like an evangelical congregation who wanted to be writhing on the floor in ecstasy, but found that they had a Church of England vicar who didn't even

have a tambouring By the end, when he was talking about the importance of giving: "Make this the giving age

. . ." he sounded as if he was wrapping up the harvest festival "And I say this to you - vegetable marrows at the back, nlease." Of course the conference realised they weren't being offered very much in exchange for their giving. He used the phrase "hard choices" or "harsh choices" 11 times, and in the past this has always been Labour government code for "no more

So it is today. But under Mr Blair, barshness is also a virtue in itself. "The bigh ideal of the best schools in the world. Reached through hard choices, he said. (Once again, few verbs. But slightly more this year. Never-theless, 97 verb-free sentences.)

"It must be a compassionate society. But it is compassion with a hard edge because a strong society cannot be built on soft choices."

Compassion with a hard edge! The razor blade in the duveti As well as being bard, we must be modern. To be modern is an absolute good in itself, and he used the word 21 times.

There were curious phrases. "The gates of xenophobia falling down", almost Blakean. There was the description of his mood when he won the election and we, the people, called on him to lead us into a new century. "That was your challenge to me. Proudly, humbly, I accepted it."

Vainly, modestly, he set to work. Harsbly, compassionatel he took the tough choices. Loudly, softly, he spoke to conference, and fascinated, bored. the audience gave him a standing ovation anyway.



The International Development Secretary, Clare Short, took one of the more dangerous steps of her political career on Brighton beach by donning body armour similar to that worn by Diana, Princess of Wales in Angola to publicise the threat of land-mines. Comment, page 14

PHOTOGRAPH: FIONA HANSON

### Blair calls for a 'giving age'

Michael White

ONY BLAIR used his leader's speech to the Labour party conference in Brighton last week to make a high-minded appeal to the British people to cast aside the cynicism and mediocrity of the post-war era and join a selfless national renewal under the banner of "the giving age".

In his first conference speech as prime minister he promised and warned voters that they had elected "a government of high ideals and hard choices". It would push through the changes needed to turn Britain into "a model 21st century nation, a beacon to the world".

"Modernisation is not an end in itself: it is for a purpose. Modernisation is not the enemy of justice, but its ally. Progress and justice are the two rocks upon which the New Britain is raised to the heights," Mr Blair told 2,000 people in the Brighton Centre and the far wider TV audience - to whom much of his speech was addressed.

There was a tough economic message beneath the surface of his 6.000-word text, coupled with a social conservatism that elevated discipline and duty, denounced industrial conflict - "partnership is

UDGES will be given the power

to pass heavier sentences for

any crime which has a racial ele-

ment under detailed proposals un-

veiled at the conference by Jack

His announcement goes further

than the Government's manifesto

commitment to give judges the

power to add up to two years in

prison to the sentences of those

convicted of racially motivated vio-

Mr Straw said wider powers were

needed because racist crimes, such

as the killing of south London

teenager Stephen Lawrence in April

1993, were among the most despica-

should expect severe punishment, Where there is a racialist element

Straw, the Home Secretary.

lence or harassment.

the key" — and elevated family life. The aim was for a compassionate society. "But it is compassion with a hard edge because a strong society cannot be built on soft choices." Mr Blair spoke of a huge social

problem in re-establishing family life as the bedrock of society. He said: "Attitudes have changed. The world has changed. But I am a modern man leading a modern country and this is a modern crisis." The Home Secretary, Jack Straw, vill chair a new ministerial commit-

tee to strengthen the family, and the radical plans of the Social Security Minister, Frank Field, for ending welfare dependency and curbing state involvement in pensions — the subject of growing tension in Whitehall — will produce a green paper before Christmas. "The new welfare state must encourage work, not deendency," Mr Blair warned.

Mr Blair's determination that a abour government will serve two ull terms shone through the speech. le again warned against complecency — and revealed an agenda much bigger than a celebration of

Labour's 179-seat Commons majority.
The Prime Minister, lavishly praising "the richness of the British character" in his opening passage, called it "creative, compassionate,

Straw acts to stamp out racist crimes

penalty," he said.

attract a higher and more severe

Details of the new offences, pub-

lished in a Home Office consulta-

tion document last week, indicate

that the Crime and Disorder Bill will

It says the courts should treat a

racial element as an aggravating fac-

tor in sentencing and judges must state how they have taken it into

account. Longer sentences will be

imposed for crimes including bur-

glary if the prosecution can demon-

The Home Office says the num-

ber of racial incidents reported to

the police has risen from 4,383 in

1988 when separate statistics were

12 months preceding March 1996.

first collected, to 12,222 in the

A study by the Crown Prosecu-

strate there was a racist motive.

contain these wider powers.

then conviction should always per cent of convictions for

outward-looking, Old British values, but a new British confidence. We can never be the biggest, we may never again be the mightiest. But we can be the best."

There were also hard nuggets of policy development in the hour-long performance. Mr Blair rattled off a list of reforms which his ministers had either set in train or implemented since election day — ranging from the handgun ban and devolution to tax changes and the Northern Ircland pence process.

He also announced new initiatives, including a target of 500,000 more people in higher and further education by 2002 and more lowcost access to the Internet for As the Prime Minister moved to-

wards his peroration he linked Labour values with "the best of British values" and called on the **entire country** to make a supreme national effort to help modernise it.

For a party leader who had just won an historic landslide, Mr Blair's speech was notably light on triumphalism, but it was heavy on high-minded ambition, almost religious in tone and decidedly low-key.

Hugo Young, page 14 Washington Post, page 16

motivated crimes do the courts im-

The Home Office consultation

paper acknowledges that it has been

difficult for prosecutors to prove

that a specific assault was racially

motivated. Mr Straw proposes that

in future the prosecution will be

asked to pass "a much more realis-

tic test" and show that the "offend-

ers demonstrated racial hostility a

or around the time of the basic

offence, or that a motivation for

committing that offence was racial

This lesser standard of proof may

include wearing British Nationa

Party insignia or shouting racial

Mr Straw also announced plans to

abuse at the time of the incident.

nostility".

pose a heavier sentence.

Minister wins fees battle The Education Secretary, David Blunkett, won overwhelming support from delegates at the Labour conference for the Government's plans to charge means-tested tuition fees for full-time undergraduates from Sep tember 1998. A threatened constituency rebellion failed to materialise

Cash to clear land-mines Ministers unveiled policy initiatives designed to help rid the world of land-mines during a debate on the scope of Labour's ethical foreign policy. The Defence Secretary, George Robertson, announced the creation of a mines information and training centre, and the International Development Secretary, Clare Short, and the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, said they would double the sums available for global mine clearance to £10 million a year.

**Ulater arrest powers curpe** The Northern Ireland Secretary, Mo Mowlani, vowed to end a "legacy of unfairness and injustice when she announced a new bill that will scrap the controversial power of internment, reviled by Northern ireland's nationalist community.

Mandelson in low pay row Trade unions reacted in fury to a suggestion by the Minister without Portfolio, Peter Mandelson, that there would be a lower minimum wage for young workers, pre-emping recommendations by the Government's Low Pay Commission, which is due to report next spring.

Prescott alters rail sale rules Parts of the rail network could be returned to public ownership, the Deputy Prime Minister, John Pres cott, told delegates. In a move that sidelined calls for a return to full nationalisation, Mr Prescott tore up rules that excluded the public sector from running passenger railway services.

Hint of more cash for NHS Tony Blair hinted that the Government will find more money for the National Health Service to stave of a winter beds crisis. His comments came in the wake of a warning by doctors that patients may have to pay to see their GP in the light of Labour's determination not to raise income tax to improve NHS funding

fronted with the human co quences of their crime.

He told the Labour conference uld change the way in which the youth courts operated: "They become a Secret Garden — the names of offenders never published; the press hamstrung to report anything at all; even the victim excluded - not allowed into court except as a witness.

"This system should be there to work for the victim and the public We must afford much more dignly to the victims of crime, and give them a chance to see justice di pensed on their behalf." A much more fundamental shak

up of the youth courts system will be announced in the next few week Mr Straw's promise to ensure that Labour remained the party law and order was warmly recen by delegates. He said his zero in erance" strategy included domesti encourage magistrates to allow victims into youth courts so that teenage offenders can be contion Service shows that in only 20 I teenage offenders can be con- deron the streets.

## Gays win historic pay ruling

■ OMOSEXUALS scored an historic victory at the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg last week, in a test case over the denial of job perks to same

In a preliminary opinion, advocate general Michael Elmer held that South West Trains Ltd's denial of travel concessions to the woman partner of Lisa Grant, a ticket clerk, breached European law guarantee

ing equal pay.

The case has far-reaching impli cations for employment rights in Britain. If the full court follows the opinion (which it does in four out of

five cases), employers will have to offer same-sex partners the same lian Percey, a nurse aged 30, went to perks, including pension benefits, available to unmarried partners of the opposite sex. Pay includes any benefits in cash or kind provided by

Ruth Harvey, Ms Grant's solicitor said companies would have to look at all aspects of pay - salary, pensions, loans, mortgages and benefits
— or risk claims against them. However, the ruling could lead

employers to limit perks to married partners. The advocate general held that this would not be contrary to European Union law. Nor would it be unlawful under English law.

an industrial tribunal after she was refused concessions worth £1,000 a year for Ms Percey. Her predeces sor in the job had received free and cut-price travel for his unmarried

female partner.

The case was referred by the tribunal to the European Court where Ms Grant, represented by Cherie Booth QC, claimed the refusal breached article 119 of the EC treaty, which guarantees equal pay. After a definitive ruling by the court, the case will go back to the tribunal for a

final decision in about six months. The advocate general said that

on the basis that an employer wanted to benefit heterosexual but not homosexual couples. He also ruled that article 119 could be directly applied by courts and tri-bunals in Britain; if the full court agrees, this opens the way for tribunals to decide similar cases with-

out reference to Europe. Ms Percy said afterwards: "We're ecstatic. It's more than we could have hoped for . . . We knew we were changing the law. It has been a hard campaign but well worth it."

Angela Mason, director of Stonewall, which campaigns for equal rights for homosexuals, said: "We are all absolutely delighted. This is an historic day for tesbian and gay rights, not just in this country but in the whole of the European Union."

The opinion follows a ruling from Ms Grant, aged 38, who lives in discrimination could not be justified the Luxembourg court extending

lieve this will pave the way for a ruling protecting homosexuals from any sort of discrimination at work.

UK NEWS 13

Advocate general Elmer con-cluded: "Equality before the law is a undamental principle . , . The rights and duties which result from EU law apply to all without discrimination, and therefore also to the approximately 35 million citizens of the EU who are homosexual."

• Following a report by the Human Rights Commission of the European Court of Justice saying that Britain's age of consent law discriminates against homosexuals, the Government is to allow a free vote by MPs on whether to reduce the homosexual age of consent from 18 to 16 - bringing it in line with the legal

#### Police review after death of CS victim

Owen Bowcott, Sebastian Naidco and Duncan Campbell

OLICE use of CS sprays should be urgently reviewed, a coroner said last week, after a verdict of unlawful killing on a Gambian footballer who was asphyxiated face down in an east London police sta-

The recommendation came at the end of a 41/week inquest into Ibrahima Sey, whose death in police custody is likely to heighten concerns about police restraint techniques and the treatment of black suspects. The decision was the third time in the past two years in which Metropolitan Police officers have been involved in an unlawful killing.

Mr Sey, aged 29 and an asylum seeker, died in March last year just two weeks after the force began testing incapacitant sprays. The call by the coroner, Dr Harold Price, for all police forces to review their use of CS solvent will increase pressure on the Home Office to reconsider

Mr Sey — who had briefly been a police officer in Gambia and played for the country's Under 25 squad had begun to struggle while in po-lice custody after being arrested following a domestic incident. He was rought down and handcuffed with his arms behind his back. When he ntinued to struggle, police used a

"He was drinking and sucking i in and it appeared not to have an effect," WPC Jackie Cannon told the court. He was carried face down into a custody suite and placed on

At that point he appeared to relax and did not respond. An ambulance was called but when it arrived several minutes later, the paramedics found him still handcuffed in the prone position. He was dead on arrival at hospital.

The hearing was the latest in a series of police custody deaths associated with "positional asphyxia" where suspects were handcuffed with their arms behind their back. CS is intended to be used for vio-

lent or life-threatening incidents, not merely to facilitate arrests. Chief police officers' guidelines on CS incapacitant specify that "prisoners must not be left . . in a prone, face-down position. The suspect should be carefully monitored ... off the effects of CS have worn

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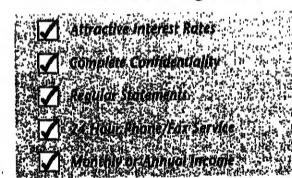
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HE NEW thriller from the Middle East should be stocked on the fiction shelf in airport bookshops. The trouble is it really did happen. When Israel released the Hamas apiritual leader Sheikh Yassin from jail, this seemed a useful gesture as talks with the Palestinians were about to resume. Instead it turns out to have been forced on Binyamin Netanyahu by King Hussein of Jordan, as a result of the arrest of two agents of Mossad, the Israeli secret service, caught while trying to assassinate another Hamas leader in Amman.

Yes — to anticipate larael's excuses — terrorism may have to be fought by unconventional means. But does anyone in the Likud government believe that, if the operation had succeeded, it would have deterred Hamas instead of provoking it? Has not the lesson of the murder in Gaza last year of the "Engineer", which led to more horrific bombings and then to the electoral defeat of Shimon Peres, been learnt? Not for the first time, Mr Netanyahu behaves in such a way as to suggest either an alarming lack of judgment or plain indifference to working for peace. Either way it is a very gloomy prospect.

Nor is it brighter elsewhere. Last week's resignation by the veteran Palestinian politician Halder Abdel-Shafi from the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) focuses attention upon the equally blind behaviour of Yasser Arafat. It is two months since the PLC, appalled by corruption and incompetence in Mr Arafat's cabinet, called on him to form a new government. Yet he has continued to ignore what is now a crisis of confidence. Palestine Report, the bulletin of an independent group of journalists and researchers, records ever growing popular disquiet. The peace process still has majority support for lack of any alternative. But almost 90 per cent of those polled believe that the Palestinian Authority (PA) is corrupt, and twothirds regard the Council itself as subservient to the PA. Human rights organisations protest at the continued use of British emergency regulations to justify political arrests. And statistics show a steady rise in poverty, mostly due to the Israeli clo sures, withdrawal of work permits, and banning of exports to Israel of Palestinian goods.

In these baffling and demoralising times, the Israelis and Palestinians need good friends and good advice. It may be a matter for regret that international convention and preponderance of power have cast the United States as the best friend available. But since this is so, it places a premium on Washington to provide strong support and clear encouragement for the peace process. The Palestinians, though well aware of the historical bias towards Israel, value what has been achieved through US good offices and hope for more consistent treatment. Yet that is exactly what is missing under the new administration. Madeleine Albright headed for Israel last month sounding one-sided in Mr Netanyahu's favour. In the end she said more to please the Palestinians than they had expected. She repeated her call for a "time-out" on new Jewish settlements recently when Mr Netanyahu announced plans for new units in Efrat. Then last week she inexplicably described settlement building as "legal". What is illegal is attempted murder on foreign soil by agents using false pass-ports. If Ms Albright is to create any impression of US impartiality, she should condemn what happened in Amman as loudly as she has denounced the terrorism of Hamas. And most important, the US has to become a more consistent broker, others to take up the task

### Uncool views on global warming

HE WORLD has a surplus of greenhouse gases but a deficit of specific targets for their reduction. That is the task the Earth Summit follow-up conference sought to tackle in June, and which Bill Clinton addressed on Monday in a White House special conference. The aim is to firm up Washington's position ahead of the United Nationssponsored meeting in Kyoto in two months' time. Unless an international consensus on hard objectives can be cobbled together, Kyoto will fail. The collective commitment first made in Rio five years ago will be seen to have lapsed and there is little time in today's media world, but that still seems chance of staging a second mobilisation. chance of staging a second mobilisation.

A great deal depends on the success of Mr Clinton's effort. He has already pledged support for a strong agreement in Kyoto that would set binding limits for greenhouse gas emissions from vehicles, power plants and factories. The only problem is ... that the United States itself is a large part of the problem. Indeed the lack of firm targets so far stems very largely from George Bush, who was only enticed to the Rio Earth Summit after targets had been abandoned. The final text was full of what the negotiators called "constructive ambiguities". It proclaimed the "aim" of reducing emissions by the developed countries to their 1990 levels by 2000, but had no mandatory element. That is why two years ago governments agreed to toughen the treaty. Yet the place where this should have been achieved — the "Earth Summit Plus Five" in June — fizzled out with no agreement on targets, in spite of acknowledging that "overall trends . . . are worse oday than they were in 1992".

The fudged proposals put forward last week by Japan - which the European Commission criticised on Monday — are not a good sign. Nor is the agonisingly slow pace at which the US has edged towards making up its mind. Thinking in both of these industrialised powers seeks to introduce variables that would allow them to pick-and-mix in order to reduce the pain of energy reduction.

Whether the main developing countries such as India and China should also accept restrictions will be a contentious issue in Kyoto. They argue that it is the developed countries which have produced 75 per cent of greenhouse gases in this century. The West replies that these new industrial tigers will soon generate more emissions and must be curbed now (while at the same time urging them on to ever faster growth). How to solve this contradiction will be difficult anyhow. There will be no chance at all if the rich countries take refuge in more selfish evasions. As Tony Blair said at the June summit, "If we fall in Kyoto, we fall our children . . . We must all ieliver on the commitments we make."

### Rush to tarnish Diana's memory

T HAS not taken long after the Princess of Wales's death for new questions of taste to be raised. Some critics complained about a newspaper picture of the UK's International Development Secretary, Clare Short, on Brighton beach wearing body armour to publicise the campaign against land-mines. They said that her pose echocd the pictures of Diana in Angola. A more vehement body of criticism has been aroused by Andrew Morton's revised book on the princess, which went on sale last weekend. Buckingham Palace described it as blatant exploitation: Mr Morton claims to have behaved "extremely honourably", There were crowds waiting to buy the first copies.

The mood of national consensus - almost a feeling of collective distaste — after the funeral is clearly not going to last, and these two episodes, although very different in scale, will be the first of many more. Ms Short sought to focus attention on a humanitarian campaign supported by millions of ordinary people to which most governments have acceded reluctantly and under public pressure. What drove the parallel home with the image from Angola was not so much the body armour as the use of an identical sign, in Portuguese, warning of the danger of mines. Perhaps the campaign should use a sign in Cambodian instead.

issues of greater magnitude. Any funds raised by Ms Short's efforts will go solely to help the victims of war. Mr Morton has promised to make a donation of undisclosed size in memory of Diana, but no one is disputing that he, his publishers and the bookshops will profit hugely. The matter would not end even in the unlikely event that they gave all the proceeds to charity. For publication of this revised version involves the release of new and very personal information about Diana and others close to her who are still alive. It is not just a matter of revealing "the methodology behind the book", as its author claims. He also argues that failure to reveal her role in the original book would be "to dishonour her memory". Diana will surely be remem-bered for much more substantial contributions to life. There is also the question of timing. Mr from tuition fees to an independent Morton protests that he did not start discussing a Bank, what price minority causes. new edition with his publisher until the end of the week after the fatal accident. A week may be a long

## Who governs Britain: parliament or people?

Hugo Young

HEN the People's party was Old Labour, the label was a class statement. The people were outside the power élite and Labour represented them. Ranged against the governing classes, the people stood for equality and fraternity, and sometimes even liberty. They were the underrecognised majority, now, with the help of Attlee, Bevin and the rest. empowered to fight back: the outsiders whose struggle was to get in.

The People's party, New Labourstyle, is the opposite. The people refers not to the excluded, but to all the population. It's a megalomanic claim, and gratifies a lot of needs. New Labour is New Britain, all the New British who reckon to count for something. Most of those at the party's conference in Brighton basked in the warnth of a collective invoked by leaders several hundred times last week. The people's endorsement is stamped on every decision. It gives me the creeps.

Those who keep going on about the people, first of all, have no sense of history. The marketing brilliance it took to capture and transform a piece of old Labourite language is less compelling than the memory of where People's Democracies began. Sound-bite theft is all very well, but when Gordon Brown refers to "the three modernisations", has he forgotten what China was actually like under Mao and Deng? The great leap forward to the People's Demo-cracy of Britain can't be far behind.

In Blairite usage, the people are benign. Copious repetition is meant to amplify what happened on May 1. Having won an election, Mr Blair is entitled to remind us he spoke for the people, and to do everything he can to deepen their interest in government. He deplores the cynicism of the age, and can't believe how many citizens seem disaffected. The people's mandate is a legitimate route to the people's involvement. Telling people that government is theirs not ours is one way to maximise their enlistment in the project.

But what project, exactly, have they signed up for? Is this a case of the people telling ministers what to do, or of ministers aunouncing what the people are supposed to have decided? Who defines the popular will? Is it top-down or bottom-up? History overflows with cases where the first masquerades as the second. But the co-option of the people

something slippery. The people is the oldest weapon, of the demagogue. Mr Blair's programme so far gives no offence to majority opinion. But if everything is done in the name of the majority, where are the limits? What the people give they can take away, and when the people are summoned in support of one policy, why can't they demand their say in another? After the People's Lottery, why not the People's Gallows? It is, after all,

what the people seem to want. If the people are the source of every piece of legislative wisdom, that the majority take no part in? When the people's will is the supreme test, why should the Government give a single cent to Covent | faintly sinister artifice.

Garden opera? As for Oxford and Cambridge, they're on the way to being deposed for the crime of being places of elitist education. From the people, it's a short stride to pop ulism, the political stance whose defining claim is to be the creed of majorities whom the élite has one spired to suppress. Populism is a ngly phenomenon, often based on borrus claims. It's not merely about majorities, but about claiming major ty support for opinions hithern given only minority credence: Em phobia, for example, or censorship or a host of other illiberal positions

Margaret Thatcher never deigne o invoke the people, but she pride nerself on all these branches of poulism. Mr Blair would disclaim il populism, but where does his reverence for the people end? The people's Britain, as he deploy

t, runs against the grain of Britis ife and the constitution. The people is an entity that sits easily with direct democracy but is out of place in the. parliamentary system as hithertow clerstood. Here the popular will works through the filter of representalise democracy. Parliament, not the pople, is sovereign; an arrangement that constrains the power of demagogues and protects minoritis against coarse majority self-interest It is possible that New Labour

wishes to give more formal recogni tion to the people, Some of their lead ers talked, before the election, of the case for more plebiscitary demo cracy. More referendums are coning forth from this Government than my in history, often rightly. It's be ginning to seem more likely than not that both the European single curerrey and the Westminster electoral system will be submitted to popular opinion before the next election.

Bull the yen for bypassing Parliament spreads wider. Already the House of Commons, which must be called, in New Labour parlance, the nation's elected focus-group, is scheduled for dis placement in certain of its function by 5,000 nominees: the new supreme focus group, paid out of government funds, to keep ministers in touch with what the people are really thinking.

Nothing yet happening is the product of bad intentions. Mr Bar vissionately desires to get the peo ple involved. Nor are his poses of his mility a sham. He thinks he has been mility a sham. entrusted with a sacred duty. All the same, these incessant references to the people are a ploy. The people are being told what is good for them, and vaguest role in putting ingether. If we she was not prepared to join other critics, including those in Pale ment, are in danger of being series aside by a version of democratic but lying the house of the manager has been assessed by the house of the manager has been assessed by the house of the manager has been assessed by the house of the manager has been assessed by the house of the manager has been assessed by the house of the manager has been as a second control of the manager has a second control of the manager has a second control of the lying, the hauteur of the masses have nessed to carry all before it

Every time I heard about the peo ple last week, I felt more inclined by reach for my book of quotations. reach for my book of quotations at coming more assertive, and rightly start: "Those people should not will listened to who keep saying at voice of the people is the work of God, since the riotousness of the complex as many close in many clo God, since the riotousness of many crowd is always very close to many ness." Better still, a more received adapted: there is no such thing adapted; there is no such thing a the People, There are individual men and women. Everything essistant and women.

# The Washington Post

## Washington Considers Mission to Congo

John M. Goshko in New York

HE United States is consider ing sending a high-level mission to Congo in an effort to break a six-week deadlock between President Laurent Kabila and a U.N. human rights team that has been prevented from investigating alleged massacres of refugees.

Sources said that if Washington

goes ahead with the plan, the mis-sion would be headed by a special envoy with strong credentials for influence and expertise in African affairs, possibly a member of Congress or someone not serving in government. They said a decision was expected from Washington within a few days.

According to the sources, Secre-tary General Kofi Annan has agreed give the mission two weeks to see that it can accomplish before the

draw the rest of its investigating team. The U.S. mission would seek talks with Kabila and would visit other countries in the region such as Uganda, Angola and Rwanda. These countries helped Kabila's rebels in their successful campaign to overthrow longtime dictator Mobutu Sese Seko last May, and the U.S. mission would seek their aid in nfluencing Kabila.

The U.S. initiative arose in discussions between U.S. officials and Annan, whose difficulties in gauging Kabila's intentions about cooperating with the investigation caused him last week to order the four team leaders to New York for consultstions. Annan acted in the wake of reports from the Reuters news agency and an African-based agency that Kabila had called for the U.N. team to leave the country.

Thursday last week Reuters issued a terse advisory saying its original report about remarks allegedly made by Kabila at the Lusaka, Zambia, airport "is wrong and is withdrawn." Reuters said Kabila did not speak

to reporters at the airport about the U.N. investigation and did not, as originally reported, say, "We request Kofi Annan to ask them to leave." The original Reuters report also quoted Kabila as saying in Lusaka: These investigators are just issuing statements from posh hotels in Kinshasa. They have failed to go to these areas to prove that the massacres ook place." That statement, the Reuters retraction said, was made at a September 29 banquet. No explanation was given of why Reuters had sent out the original report.

U.N. officials said that while Annan had been concerned by the

report was not the reason he had recalled the team's leaders and last week's retraction would not affect their travel to New York. Instead the officials said, Annan was motivated primarily by the fact that the tenm has been forced to sit idly in Kinshasha for almost six weeks because Kabila's government has refused to give members access to suspected massacre sites.

"He felt it was time to sit down directly with the team leaders and try to figure out what Kabila's game s and how to deal with it," said one U.N. official who asked not to be identified.

It was in that context, sources said, that Bill Richardson, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, broached to Annan the possibility of an American mission. Richardson traveled to Kinshasa carlier this

year in attempts to negotiate with Kabila about permitting the U.N. investigation. However, the sources said, if a special envoy is sent again, it will not be Richardson.

The U.N. team went to Congo or August 24 to look into reports that Kabila's rebels, during their military campaign against Mobutu, massa-cred Rwandan Hutu refugees. The Hutus, apparently including many women and children, allegedly were killed by the Tutsi-dominated rebel forces in retaliation for the 1994 slaughter of a 500,000 Tutsis in

While Kabila initially agreed to a U.N. probe, he has restricted the team's ability to move outside Kin-shasa and has insisted on conditions that effectively would cripple the investigation. As the impasse has dragged on, the United States, members of the European Community and other nations have fied the promise of much-needed assistance to Congolese cooperation with the



Male bonding . . . Promise Keepers pray at the Mall in Washington during preparations for last weekend's mass gathering of men who belong to the evangelical Christian movement PHOTO MARK WILSON

### When It's All Right to Stand By Your Man

E. J. Dionne Jr.

PHEDA SKOCPOL surprised a Lot of people last month with her thoughts about Promise Keepera. That's the all-male evangelical Christian tian group which held a mass rally in shington last weekend in defens fatherhood and the family Skocpol is a Harvard professor, a would liberal and a staunch feminist, not exactly the Promise Keeper type.

for family restoration and it speaks to the confusion many men have over what their role is supposed to be, she said in an interview last

mist movements are." Her advice to her fellow feminists is to "engage the Promise Keepers in public discussion". In a cross fire orld, Skocpol's view is a bracing cknowledgement that you neither

feminiats and liberals is twofold: that it is a front group for the Religious Right, and that it is trying, in the words of National Organization for Women President Patricla Ireland, "to take back the rights of

These are not paranoid fantasies. Promise Keepers' rally had the support of Christian conservative activists Pat Robertson, James Dobson and Gary Bauer - not a pantheon to inspire the confidence of movement's leader, Bill McCartney, "If you asked him his politics, there's no doubt they'd be conservative," said Patrick Glynn, the author of a sympathetic piece on the movement in the current issue of The

Responsive Community. On the matter of women's roles; the group draws inspiration from St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the Church." That passage was once a staple at

Christian wedding services, but many contemporary Christians de cline to use it, seeing the reading as offensive or, at the least, culturally conditioned by the times St. Paul lare to love nor hate a movement lived in it if the Promise Keepers you have to be opposed to feminism to love nor hate a movement lively mean to argue that this applied to hohor the family — or fathers.

like Promise Keepers. The fear of | proach to marriage is the one and only Christian way, they'll get a big fight from secular feminists, but also from many Christians.

But up to now, at least, McCartney and the rest of the Promise Keeper leadership have, as Glynn put it, "taken concrete steps to keep politics on the back burner."

And Promise Keepers is doing two good deeds. What differentiates last weekend's march from Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March is that Promise Keepers has engaged is or liberals. As for the in an aggressive campaign of racial And as Skocpol argues, a group trying to make men take seriously

their responsibilities as fathers and

husbands is raising the right issue at a time of family breakdown; the source of so many other problems. . Were Promise Keepers to em brace an assertively right-wing, antifeminist message, it would justify the fears of its critics - but also risk losing many members who seek not political propaganda but a transforming religious experience akin to that offered by Billy Gra-

ham's Crusades For now, Skocpol has the right approach: to admire the good things Promise Keepers do while insisting they're dead wrong if they say tha

### **NATO Allies Row With U.S Over Costs of Enlargement**

William Drozdiak in Maastricht

FRESH conflict between the I United States and Europe over the costs of NATO enlargement threatens to complicate the accession of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic just as member states' legislatures are opening the final debate on whether to ratify the alliance's expansion.

Barely three months after Western leaders toasted the alliance's embrace of the new East European democracies at their summit conference in Madrid, several European governments are voicing serious misgivings about the U.S. insistence that they, along with the new members, should carry the bulk of the expenses related to NATO enlarge-

The gravity of U.S.-European differences became clear last week during a protracted discussion among alliance defense ministers on the nuts and bolts of the military adaptations necessary to carry out the most ambitious expansion of NATO in its 48-year

The Clinton administration estimates that NATO expansion will cost about \$35 billion over the next decade and the U.S. share will amount to no more than \$2 billion: The United States contends that the eastern partners because they need to make the biggest investments to adapt their military forces to the rapid mobility and power-projection requirements of the post-Cold War

But NATO's other members are balking at the idea of paying \$16 billion or more '- their 'estimated share of expansion costs - at a time when economic austerity measures and the lack of a visible threat make the cause of larger defense budgets politically unpopular.

At the same time, there are strong doubts that the three new members will be able to afford the \$17 billion investment the Clinton administration believes the three surveys together must make to bring their of all vot defenses up to NATO standards. NATO.

The International Monetary Fund recently urged all three to avoid large defense costs that could damage their fragile economies.

Key U.S. Senate hearings this week could tip the balance in next year's vote on whether to ratify expansion. Most NATO governments say they anticipate no problems in securing approval from their national legislatures.

But the United States requires endorsement by two-thirds of the Senate, where some legislators harbor doubts about long-term expansion costs, the dilution of the alliance and the potential risk of committing U.S. troops and nuclear weapons to the defense of Eastern

During last week's meeting, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen insisted cost will play an important role in persuading Congress that Europe is willing to assume greater responsibility for its defense. He also stressed that NATO's new partners must prove they are willing to pay their fair share and not depend on the goodwill of wealthier members. "There can be no free lunch."

The United States has been accused by some European governments of pushing the enlargement agenda to promote new markets for American defense firms. But Cohen vast majority of the costs should be said the United States does not see bonanza" and wants only to ensure NATO's military credibility

He insisted the United States is encouraging the new partners to focus on training and communications, rather than big-ticket planes and other expensive hardware.

Defense ministers from Poland Hungary and the Czech Republic sought to dispel any fears that pub lle support for joining NATO might be flagging or that they are not prepared to make the financial sacrifices necessary to upgrade their

The Czechs, in particular, have been criticized because of low defense! spending and recent surveys that suggest less than half of all voters endorse membership of

May

Anthony Falola In Rio de Janeiro

OPE John Paul II celebrated High Mass for 1.5 million pligrims on the picturesque shores of this sprawling metropolis last Sunday in the culmina-tion of his four-day visit to Brazil, during which he sought to reinforce Church doctrine and stem losses to Protestant Evangelical churches in the

world's largest Catholic country. During his visit to Rio for the Second Annual Conference of the Family, the pope delivered one of his strongest and most passionate missives yet against the "forces of evil," including divorce and abortion, that he said are threatening the family.

Even in Rio, with a penchant for carnival-like decadence and where only 65 percent of the population is now Catholic, the pope drew massive crowds. They were kept at bay in this city known for being almost as vio-lent as it is beautiful by 27,000 security forces.

Much of the pope's visit centered on ministering to a shrinking flock in a country where Evangelical Christians are wooing away an estimated 150,000 Catholica a year. But in meetings with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and in many of his speeches, the pope also pushed for more rights for ethnic minorities and the poor. He called for greater moves to equalize the distribution of wealth in Brazil, where the income gap is still one of the high-

est in the world. But the main agenda on this trip, his third to Brazil and 80th



Carnival atmosphere . . . security guards keep worshippers in check during the papal mass in Rio

the Roman Catholic Church's

continued crusade against the "the abominable crime of abor-

tion" and his unflappable opposi-tion to birth control and divorce.

The pope made such state-

their cultural acceptance to some

long-taboo issues. A bill is now

pending in congress to give all public hospitals permission to

have been raped or whose lives

perform abortions on women who

outside of the Vatican, was to talk about the family. He delivered his most rousing speech in front of 180,000 worshippers at the Maracana soccer ground, the world's largest open stadium. As the pontiff sat on a red throne in the shadow of Rio's world famous Christ the Redeemer statue atop Mount Corcovado, the church presented more than a dozen families who told how Catholicism has kept them

The pope left no doubt about

## Britain's Leader Turns Presidential

Dan Baiz in Brighton

ONY BLAIR has adopted many personas as Britain's leader: political reformer, griever in chief, genial host of Friday night town meetings, relentless enforcer of a disciplined message. He is called the prime minister, but he plays a role more familiar to Americans — the role of president.

Both as a candidate and as prime minister, Blair has embraced a presidential style of leadership, geared for the age of television and the era of declining faith in political parties. He knows well how to manipulate the levers of party politics, but his soaring popularity has grown more out of his ability to tap the public mood and often define it first, unencumbered by party or cabinet.

At the Labor Party's annual conerence in this seaside town, the diference between Blair and the rest of als new government is clear. There are other formidable figures in his abinet and others no less commited to the modernizing agenda that s the hallmark of this government But Blair rises above the restraints and boundaries of his party and speaks directly to the people.

His entrance into the hall last week was emblematic of his style of politics. A lone spotlight followed Blair as he made his way from a side entrance, down the aisles and onto the stage. It was the stagecraft of presidential-style politics, a single ments at a time when polls sug-gest that Brazilians are liberalizing light concentrating the energy of the arena into the personality of a single political leader.

"He's moving toward a presidential style, and by the time he leaves office he will have completed the transition," said Robert Worcester of the polling firm MORI. "And it's clearly on his mind — on the foreront of his mind."

In the British media, Blair's keynote speech last week prompted many comparisons, most of them to American presidents. Some saw John F. Kennedy in Blair's call for a new age of giving in Britain. Others compared Blair's call for Britain to become "a beacon to the world" to Ronald Reagan's description of the United States as "a shining city on a hill." One analyst likened Blair's political agility to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And throughout his rapid of his government.

rise to power, the parallels of President Clinton have been who brought their parties bat: power by embracing centrist pocies and new rhetoric. Blair is not the first British price minister to act presidents

Harold Wilson, whose first Lity government was elected in the E 1960s, openly attempted to inte-Kennedy's language and informative. Margaret Thatcher, the denant Conservative prime ministre the 1980s, combined force of pr sonality and a strong kleologic edge to project herself above by cabinet. John Major, who E ceeded Thatcher before losing E post to Blair, employed person louches to connect with voters.

But what Blair has done is est, cially notable given the way ps/ Labor leaders have operated a cording to Michael Foley, author-The Rise Of The British President "In British politics, the ethosis: the collective and the corpora with party control based on se party allegiance," Foley said. In p.: Labor governments, cabinet mebers had significant powers, make the prime minister merely is: among equals." Blair, he said he centralized powers that go wellyoud a party leader's previous gra-

Blair has become the person. embodiment of what he calls No Labor," his description of a polia. party that has recast itself we much in his image. Yet he almafloats above his party, some 5 even disdains it. Facing as c friendly resolution urging remie alization of the railroads, Blair waon radio and warned that, if the wwent against him, "It ain't going". happen." He did not lose.

He similarly floats around is own government, in the way a pres dent does. He sets the tone, focuse on big-picture issues and was away from squabbles among E cabinet ministers.

Labor Party polls put his approx rating at 93 percent. A MORI pe published last week in the Times of andon confirmed his success. found 75 percent of those que tioned approved of Blair's perfer mance, a record for a British print minister, while 57 percent approval

For the fifth consecutive year, violent crime and property crime have dropped nationwide, including in most large cities, and in particular for murder. That offense declined

Overall, violent crime dropped

But some analysts content good news about crime still some good news about c the other priests who officiated final version of an annual FBI be treated with caution because report; preliminary numbers were could be due mostly to a

THE murder rate in the United States is lower now than at arm ulation. The Clinton administration called the report clear evidence the its anti-crime policies, which include giving communities more more

These numbers show that exlating crime is not an unsalvable problem," Attorney General Jana Reno said. She also announced by week that the violent crime and rate among juveniles nationally of

creased by 9 percent last year.
But some analysts contend its

### RUSSIA / The Washington Post 17

# Destitute Youngsters Take to the Streets

Daniel Williams In St. Petersburg

HE BOYS huddling behind the statue of Catherine the Great on Nevsky Prospekt ing up balloons. But the balloons were plastic bags, and the boys were not exhaling air but breathing in glue. Spotted by a policeman, they tried to scramble away, but one, who appeared to be about 8, was collared.

It was a variation on a scene that s becoming common on the streets Russia's cities — even such stately main streets as St. Petersburg's Nevsky Prospekt. Vagrant children, some homeless, wander about looking for handouts, for pockets to pick, glue to sniff, vodka to guzzle, a sex partner to rob.

They are called besprizorniki, neglected ones, a word once used tere to describe the legions of orphans who roamed Russia's streets and countryside during the civil warfare of the 1920s.

The word has made a sudden comeback in today's laissez-faire Russia, where many children appear to be clinging to survival. An epidemic of street children has made Russians fearful of a lost generation that at best will be undereducated and at worst grow up in a life of crime and disease.

"The indicators are frightening," said Ekaterina Rozhdektvenskaya, director of the Women's Organization for National Health, a socialwelfare group. "Everywhere we turn, we see more violence toward children, more sex abuse, worse health, more fatherless homes, It looks bad for our future."

About 4 in 10 Russian children live in poverty, according to U.N. estimates. The number of juvenile criminal arrests has increased by more than a third since the early 1990s to more than 200,000 a year, according to Internal Affairs Min-

In St. Petersburg, Russia's second-largest city with a population of more than 4 million, there may be as many as 3,000 vagrant children — and many more if those who spend as much time or more in the streets than at home are in-

In Moscow, the number is at least ouble that, social workers say. In warm weather, it is easy to spot such children lingering in parks and woods that surround both cities — or gathered outside fast-food res-

Numerical comparisons with Russia's recent past are difficult to make. During the Soviet era, runaways and the homeless, whether children or adults, were treated by the Communist state as social aberrations. Children whose parents sed or abandoned them were placed in institutions or orphanages; unaways were regarded as delinquents and sent to reform schools.

"It's not like the problem did not exist; in fact, it was a big problem, but it simply was hidden from view," sald Valery Sokolov, director of Nochlezka, a charity that operates lomeless shelters in St. Petersburg.

These days, however, social and familial instability peculiar to the new capitalist Russia contribute to the growing herds of wandering Joungsters. Workers who were underemployed under Soviet rule are unemployed today, and families have a hard time making ends meet. I there was little to buy with paychecks in Soviet times, at least there

Migrants from former Soviet re-publics swell the ranks of the homeless in Russia, which continues to use the Soviet system of internal passports to discourage migration from the countryside to the cities. Without a proper permit, the children of migrants cannot attend local schools, and many end up in the

vices is sparse, and much of the burden falls on cash-poor and oftencorrupt local governments.

Taking care of these children is their wives and children; many preg-

were paychecks. If social services were inefficient, today they are evaporating entirely for lack of loctors of the World, a New Yorkbased medical aid organization that

runs health-care programs for ne-glected children in St. Petersburg. All this is occurring against a backdrop of disturbing health and social trends in Russia - including declining life expectancy and rising alcoholism. Officials and aid workers in St. Petersburg say the major-ity of street children here are deeing domestic violence associ-Kremlin funding for social serated with alcohol abuse.

According to published reports here, men who drink heavily frequently abandon families or beat

five has an alcoholic member.

Of those street children not fleeing alcohol-related violence, estimates indicate that about a third are fugitives from state orphanages and reform schools; a third are offspring of women who have been forced out of their homes by abusive husbands; and a third are seeking adventure away from the city's sprawl of bleak, cookie-cutter housing projects. They live in sewers, pedestrian underpasses, attics, railway stations, garbage dumps and abandoned buildings.

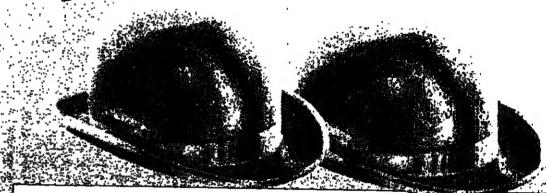
The police, feared though they

are, are responsible for rescuing children, either from abusive parents or the streets, and taking them to one of the city's 18 shelters. At some shelters, the city provides teachers' salaries, some food and perhaps dilapidated facilities. It is up to shelter operators, usually private charity groups, to refurbish the buildings and provide clothing, bedding, medical care, books, television and toys.

Many of the children brought in suffer from disease. Tuberculosis is common, and AIDS is becoming a concern, said Groton.

Most of the shelters are simply storage bins for children, according to a Nochlezka report. Others, however, have tried to prepare children either to return to their families - if considered safe — or to live in foster homes and perhaps be adopted.

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### are endangered by pregnancy. Pilgrims Stay Away on St. Francis's Day

Vera Haller in Assisi

THIS small hill town in Italy's L Umbria province where St. Francis founded his religious order in the 13th century is usually a hub of activity on the saint's name day. A procession weaves through the narrow streets, prayer vigils are held and the festivities, which thousands attend, culminate in a Mass in the magnificent white and rose stone basilica built in his honor.

This year is different. Assisi one of the towns worst hit by a series of earthquakes in the past week - was practically deserted last Saturday, its streets empty of tourists and religious pilgrims and the doors to the basilica closed

"It's just awful to see Assisi dead like this," said Paolo Simonelli, who opened his gift shop on the street leading to the basilica but was finding no takers for his trinkets, which included porcelain figurines of St.

The earthquakes, two strong ones on September 26 and a weaker | time to the restoration effort. They one on Friday last week, have are still trying to sort out pieces of Francis in the lower church of the caused widespread damage to Italy's central regions of Umbria and Marches. Two smaller aftershocks hit the area last weekend.

Eleven people died in the first tremors and at least 20 were injured campers supplied by the govern-ment. Most of the homeless will probably be able to return home after engineers check the soundness of their buildings, but this process is expected to take weeks.

Assisi has emerged as a symbol of the pain caused by the earthquakes because of the damage sustained by the basilica of St. Francis. Huge chunks of the vaulted ceiling in the basilica's upper sanctuary collapsed on September 26; killing four people inside including two Franciscan friars. Its renowned frescoes, including a cycle of 28 paintings depicting the life of St. Francis by the Renaissance master Giotto,

were damaged. "It's a disaster. Parts of the frescoes are irreparable. There aren't fragments which will be almost imrestorers who are volunteering their they can under tents set up outside

the basilica. The restorers, from all over Italy,

were destroyed or damaged by the | solidarity with the residents - and temblors are sleeping in tents and it's probably safer than staying in a house with all these earthquakes," said Alessandra Morelli, another

The Rev. Nicola Giandomenica of the Franciscan monastery attached to the basilica said the 52 friars living there were "deeply pained" by the week's events. 'The pain is especially felt by the older friars, who say they've never experienced a name day for St. Francis like this."

While Assisi was blanketed in a strange quiet, a simple open-air Mass was said for St. Francis in front of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli a few miles away. It was saint's name day; all other festivities were canceled as a sign of respect

for those who died in the basilica. The Mass, attended by several just chunks of plaster, but tiny, tiny hundred people from the region, was offered by Archbishop Dionigi possible to piece together," said Tettamanzi of Genoa, whose dio-Paolo Pastorello, one of about 40 art | cese from the Liguria region donated a fresh supply of oil for the the frescoes from piles of debris, he basilica. A different region of Italy said, organizing them as best as donates the oil each year. He and

stood under a white tent. "I think St. Francis would have tremors and at least 20 were injured on Friday last week. Tens of thousands of residents whose homes were preferred to stay in the tents in sands of residents whose homes were preferred to stay in the tents in franciscan friar attending the Mass.

U.S. Murder Rate at a Low

L States is lower now than at any aging of a large segment of the po point since the late 1960s, and other serious crime also is continuing to decline, the FBI reported last week.

9 percent last year, with 19,645 people slain. The murder rate, now 7.4 incidences for every 100,000 people, is 17 percent lower than in 1992.

hire police officers, are working

### A Grumpy Old Man Reflects

Thomas M. Disch TIMEQUAKE By Kurt Vonnegut Putnam. 219pp. \$23.95.

IMEQUAKE is a novel by, and starring, Kurt Vonnegut. His co-star, and virtually the only other "character" in the book, is his alter ego, Kilgore Trout, who figured in two earlier Vonnegut novels, God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater (1965) and Breakfast Of Champions (1973). Trout has also published his own novel, Venus On The Half Shell (1975), but since it was written, without Vonnegut's consent, by Philip Jose Farmer, that book cannot legally be accounted part of the Trout oeuvre, though it enjoys its own peculiar and illegitimate glory as one of the few novels published by a non-entity.

It may be that the concept for Timequake is a steal from Thornton Wilder's Our Town. (Vonnegut discreetly acknowledges as much.) In a nutshell, everyone on Earth has to relive the 1990s on automatic pilot, observing but not participating in their lives. But what Wilder made poignant, Vonnegut simply doesn't engage with, for he refuses to deal either with the helplessness and/or | Kurt Vonnegut, is poor, downtrod- | which had never wanted to be | only answer, Hokay.

The Woman Who Made Hollywood

MARY PICKFORD'S unfairly re-membered as a ringleted ac-

tress who played angelic children in

maudlin silent movies. Canadian

journalist Eileen Whitfield's excel-

lent biography reclaims her from

cliche, arguing persuasively that

her films — and performances —

are better than their reputation.

Whitfield paints a nuanced, three-

dimensional portrait of a complex

woman whose story is a fascinating

case study of a seminal period in

Pickford entered the world as

Gladys Louise Smith on April 8,

1892, in Toronto. Her father died

when she was five; less than two

years later she appeared in her first

play quickly becoming the financial

mainstay for her beloved mother,

Charlotte, and younger siblings. Ap-

prenticeship in such melodramatic

classics as Uncle Tom's Cabin and

completed her transformation into a

Hollywood history.

University Press of Kentucky.

Wendy Smith

By Elleen Whitfield

PICKFORD

horror of such an experience or with the trauma of release. No matter - intensity was never Vonnegut's forte. And anyhow Wikler ad already done it.

What Vonnegut does, which no one can do better, is give a big postmodern shrug. The experience is shifted to the expert shoulders of Frout, who represents his creator's self-love and self-loathing at a level of imaginative intensity that mere memoir would not allow. And that is not to reckon with the

man's immense self-regard. Vonnegut namedrops like a rainstorm: A.E. Hotchner, Heinrich Boll, Dick Francis, Günter Grass, Andrei Sakharov, and a host of showbiz stars that his own celebrity has brought within a handshake's distance. The extended Vonnegut family is all on hand, as at a wedding. each with a characterizing anecdote. The author's bibliography and the salient facts of his public career are

offered as candidly as on a resume. And then there are the sententiae: There shall be no more war, we must love one another, etc. He echoes Henry Fonda, echoing John Steinbeck, echoing Eugene Debs, that as long as there is anyone poor or downtrodden or in prison, he, is Voimegut might say.

Of his writerly life we learn that he still works, virtuously, on a manual typewriter, corrects his copy with pencil and then mails these pages off to his long-term professional typist in the country. This necessitates a walk first to the store, to buy a single manila envelope, and then to the post office, where he waits in line to buy a stamp. The process becomes a parading of Vonnegut's rectitude and unassuming numan dignity relative to those boobs among us who use computers and fax machines or play the lottery.

If all this seems insufferably smug, it is, but since it comes from Vonnegut, America's favorite grumpy old man, you've got to love him. He has so cornered the market on elderly curmudgeonliness that his very beiches (and there are plenty of them, including three or four really moldy dirty jokes) have a fragrance of temps perdu.

In a well-advised "Prologue," Vonnegut forewarns his readers that Timequake took 10 years to write, at the end of which, 74 years old, "I found myself in the winter of 1996 . . the creator of a novel which did not

written ... Let us think of it as Time-cuake. And let us think of this one, a slew made from its best parts mixed with thoughts and experiences during the past seven months or so, as "imequake Two, Hokay?"

Hokay with me. The fact is that onnegat's fame and bankability are such that he is beyond rejection or even criticism. As for Trout - now a hack sci-fi writer in his eighties though reduced to the condition and appearance of a bag lady he's still going strong, charning out un-publishable stories full of idiotsavant wisdom. His stories are, in ynopsis, truly stupid, and we must e grateful that Vonnegut has had the discernment to imagine rather than write them.

And yet, as with Mortimer Snerd. is Trout who may be the more memorable character. He is one of those, like Forrest Gump or Sherlock Holmes, who take their creator captive and become the boss. Even formegut seems to be aware of this, for if the book has any message, it is that offered by Trout: "You were sick, but now you're well again, and there's work to do."

One may have doubts about this as a panacea to the world's problems. But as solace, it's on a par with Voltaire's advice, as mediated through Candide, that we should tend to our own affairs, a counsel of work, which had no point, and perfection to which the reader can

### Wild Ride Into Horror

Rachel Pastan

WITHERE ARE things I protes A. don't have to say about log. Carol Oates's latest novel, M. Cracy - that it is a lyrical and i. bent book; that its voice is hypose and powerful; that it tells the sun of a woman who, curtailed by ecumstances, seems destined

I don't have to say these thing occause they were true of Oak last novel as well, and the one le fore that. Oates's themes are as a tablished and her voice a recognizable as those of any Ami can writer living. On the one had this is a tribute. On the other, raises the bar. She has to find oth; ways to surprise us - to keep b. wondering what will happen next.

Man Crazy, like so many

Oates's novels, immerses us imp

diately in brutality, "I'd be: brought to the hospital in wishackles," the narrator, logi: Boome, begins. She goes on to b scribe how she stabbed herself with त्र cheap tin fork, how she has alva had the habit of self-mutilation It story then jumps backward, a counting Ingrid's lonely and some times violent childhood, tracing h descent into a pathological, achi; passivity that leads first to promise ity and later to involvement with: Satanic cult. Ingrid's mother is als ing but alcoholic beauty, her father former fighter pilot and fuging

from justice.
It is never clear exactly why behave to hide out at a dismal lodge is upstate New York, except that it's good background for a little ghestory ()ates wants to tell. Indeed much of novel's causality remain murky, the story jumping for episode to episode. The language vasites over us and lulis us evens the action shocks us, and the interplay between the two — the most of fective aspect of the book - seem to interest Oates more than b complications of narrative.

For ingrid's story seems not s much to unfold as to repeat iss descending into horror. Her work is so dismal and her approach with so passive that I grew frustrated wanting Ingrid herself, and not be the writing, to compel me on: For there is certainly wonder!

writing here. The dialogue is to rific, the descriptions of the Cher tauqua River dark and sensions There are brilliant turns of phree as when ingrid describ "sitting tense and erect in my ske ton" as she waits for her inhisted into the Children of Satan. In a brief chapter, Ingrid rese

her father's theory that, for a plat there is the time on the ground the time in the air: "When you're'b the air . . everything goes shit roaring, collapsed, blind." It sees to me that this is what Oales want to create in her fiction, and does liantly - the crazy sensation ( ing in an open cockpit, where world dashes by in a roar of his and sensation, not quite needing make sense. If you open your and look around while you're fig. ing Man Crazy, you may have sense that you aren't going where. But if you shut your eyes? give yourself up to it, the now take you on a dark and wild rife

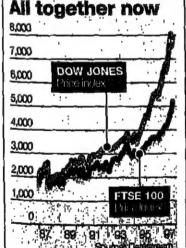
MAN CRAZY By Joyce Carol Oates Jutton, 282pp, \$23,95.

cigars . . . Stocks are going up and he is planning a holiday. The man is an investment pundit who presents a hugely popular radio show in Kansas. According to his predictions, the Dow Jones Industrial Average - the key United States stock market index, which charts the progress of the country's biggest companies — will break through the 10,000 mark early in the New Year.

So Mr Granville has formed the Dow 10,000 club, and all the members are taking a celebratory threeday cruise on The Sovereign Of The Seas (73,000 tons, 2,300 passengers). Lots of other stock market pundits will be on board, and for an extra \$160 "tuition fee" on top of the basic \$872-per-cabin cost, happy cruisers will be able to attend seminars fronted by speakers from an outfit known as The Personal Capitalist. And, according to a travel agent's flier, there is also the romise of Mr Granville himself giving "another one of his famous

d his newest recommendations". Any investor who has followed Mr Granville's advice over the past 15 months or so should be able to afford the cruise. In July last year, when the Dow Jones index stood at 5,170, he told his followers to start buying shares. Then, in April this year, with the Dow standing at 6,315, the man told everyone to fill their boots. The Dow is going to

stock market lectures replete with



OSEPH E GRANVILLE is all 10,000 by January. Mr Granville set. Bermuda shorts, box of declared.

Investors have never had it so good. Can it last, or is

Stocks and cheers

disaster about to strike? Paul Murphy reports

At the time he looked like another stock market quack in a country thick with quackish "investment gurus". The professionals - hardheaded Wall Street types who spend their days analysing every piece of information which might impact on share prices — were talking then of a stock market crash. They had lisened to Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve and undisouted "master" of the world financial system, when he said that stock market investors were displaying "irrational exuberance". They were waiting for interest rates to go up.

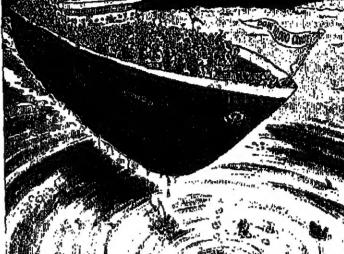
The idea that the Dow index might jump by two-thirds was, well, the sort of thing some Kansas radio celebrity would come up with. But with three months to go, the Dow 10,000 Club is looking less and less like a bunch of cultists heading for a messy mass suicide.

Recent weeks have seen the most framatic stock market explosion ripping through London as well as New York — that the financial world has seen. Last week, the Dow burst through 8,000, marking a 27 per cent rise this year.

Britain's own version of the Dow, the FTSE 100 index, surged through 5,300 on Thursday last week. The next day, the index jumped 160 points in one trading session - the second biggest one-day surge. The Footsie has rocketed 30 per cent this year as a jaw-dropping \$400 billion has been added to the value o Britain's top 100 firms.

Such a feeding frenzy has never been seen before in the major Western financial centres. And, disturbingly, there is very little agreement on what is fuelling the markets. But whatever the cause, and whatever valuation yardsticks market analysts choose to use, shares are now more expensive than ever before. And on the two or three occasions in history when share prices have been close to current alue levels, something has happened: the markets have crashed.

Most investment professionals use past stock market history to help them predict the future, and so many have spent the past 18 months growing increasingly bearish. If hisory says - as it does - that share prices are over-valued and waiting



o collapse, the natural inclination is get out of the stock market.

The most respected names in the British fund management industry have followed this logic - Carol Galley of Mercury Asset Management, Tony Dye of IDFM and Paul Myners of Gartmore.

Sally, the "opportunity cost" being underweight in the stock market when share prices are soaring has run to billions of dollars for the pensions these fund managers manage. Others have been bearish, as well. From individual punters in the futures market to Warren Buffett, the legendary US investor, word has come: "stock markets are

BUT prices have continued to rise, lending an air of unreal-ity. All the time, takeover deals and corporate mergers have become increasingly extravagant, culminating in last week's news that a 13-year-old telecoms company called WorldCom — built through 150 acquisitions — is offering shares worth \$30 billion to take over MCI, the US telecoms group that British Telecom was hoping to merge with (see story below).

Suddenly, some of those British bears who have been warning of a crash have begun to revise their views. Talk in the City is now all about interest rates falling and how a weaker pound will help British

The stock market is described as "under-pinned," and yet there is evidence of cracking. Share prices have not gone up in a straight line; there have been leaps and bounds,

periods of vicious volatility. Many

trading houses have been losing money as a result. There is little doubt that both last week's news that BZW, the investment banking arm of Barclays Bank, is up for sale and last month's announcement that Wall Street powerhouse Salomon Brothers is being taken over by the Fravelers financial conglomerate were to a large extent brought on by

he extreme conditions. Worryingly, informed sources among City regulators say that the Securities and Fatures Authority the City watchdog that monitors all securities businesses - is working at full stretch, fighting potential and real fires across the Square Mile.

in short, the stock market i stressed. Experienced traders use words like "barking" and "barmy". There is a constant search for the "event" which might trigger a meltdown that will destroy investor confidence. Some pointed to the currency crisis that has swept through the Far East over the past two months; others have olumped for the Indonesian bush fires.

History shows the potential damage to investors' wealth. After the 1929 Wall Street crash, it took 25 years for share prices to regain their

There is an old stock market rule which says that equities always climb a wall of worry, but there is also a rule which says if you are worried about a stock, sell it and

stop worrying.
Joe Granville and his Dow 10,000 gang would scoff at such advice, but the message is clear; stick to dry land.

#### in Brief HE crisis of confidence in Southeast Asian currencies returned as Indonesia's rupiah fell to a record low. It has devalued 50 per cent against the dollar in little more than four months. Even the region's most robust currency, the Singapore dollar, sank to a 40-month low.

EARS that the Japanese economy is teetering on the brink of its first recession for 23 years were heightened as the country's most comprehensive and authoritative business survey revealed top executives expect conditions to deteriorate further in the coming months.

A NEW petrol price war was signalled by Shell as the oil group amounted 3,000 managerial redundancies in its European retail operations. The shake-up will see Shell buying other service station chains and swapping assets with rivals

B ARCLAYS has confirmed that it is pulling out of large parts of its City banking activities. It is to sell its equities and corporate finance divisions and said it hoped to find a buyer for BZW "within a few months" Anniysts said the sale could aise \$800 million.

M ICROSOFT has launched its new Internet softwure — Internet Explorer 4 — in the latest bout of what has been dubbed "the browser wars". The company has been locked in a battle with rivals Netscape for the past two years for domination of the market for Internet software.

ORTHERN ROCK, the UK-based building society, made a spectacular stock market debut when its shares soared to a peak of 470p, bringing windfalls of £2,350 (\$3,800) to about half a million members.

THE SALE of Mocatta, the world's oldest bullion bank, to Canada's Bank of Nova Scotia for an undisclosed sum puts London's twice-daily gold-price fixing under majority foreign control for the first time.

	Sterling rates October 6	Sterling rate September 2
Australia	2.2266-2.2294	2.2469-2.249
Austria	19.99-20 01	19.99-20.01
Belglum	58 61-58.83	58 62-58.72
Cenada	2.2508-2,2128	2.2372-2.239
Denmark	10 81-10.82	10.82-10 83
France	9.55-9.56	9.84-9.85
Germany	2.8409-2.8436	2.8419-2 844
Hong Kong	12,47-12,48	12.50-12.51
treland	1.1057-1.1081	1.1042-1.108
Itely	2,785-2,788	2,781-2,784
Japan	196.20-196.41	195.42-195.6
Natherlands	3,1097-3.2031	3.2005-3.203
New Zealand	2.5436-2.6389	2.6341-2.637
Norway	11,36-11.37	11,45-11,46
Portugel	269,71-290.04	289,47-289.8
Spain	239.97-240.23	240,12-240.3
Sweden	12.13-12.14	12.21-12.23
Switzertand	2 3417-2 3443	2.3458-2 348
USA	1.8125-1.6134	1.6160-1.617
POLIT		A

FT8E100 Share Index up 79,7 at 8500.0, FT8E 250

Index up 51.3 at 4867.4. Gold up 84.78 at \$332.95.

## BT mounts fightback against WorldCom's \$30bn bid for MCI

Alex Brummer

RITISH Telecom is planning to mount an aggressive cam-paign against WorldCom's turprise \$30 billion paper offer for the United States long-dis-tance telecoms group MCI as part of effort to sustain its global

The BT management believes that the offer by Bernard Ebbers f WorldCom is highly vulnerable to a stock market shakeout, and could be held up for a year by regulatory interference on noth sides of the Atlantic whereas BT's combination will be fully in place by January

But even if BT finds itself fazumped by WorldCom's abortterm opportunism, it believes

he UK telecoms good chance of rapidly putting ogether an alternative, with the ninant US long-distance arrier AT&T seen as a potential

partner. AT&T is understood to have expressed private interest in a deal with BT already, which would cut it in on the UK group's series of European partnerships Despite the City's euphoria over WorldCom's intervention

BT shares rose sharply on the news of the counterbid - BT chairman Sir Iain Vallance and chief executive Peter Bonfield believe that the decision for the MCI board, which was due to meet in Washington this week, will be far closer than the paper difference suggested by the two

If MCI accepts the WorldCom

at an exceptionally high price-earnings ratio of 44, which will be extremely vulnerable to any reversal in the stock market.

Given that MCPs shareholden may have to wait for more than a year while the Federal Communications Commission and the Furopean Commission examine the bid on competition grounds, the risks associated with World-Com's paper offer may appear

If and when BT goes public in its opposition to the WorldCom offer — it is currently barred from comment by US bidding rules — it may also draw attention to the role in the proposed deal of investment banker

After Salomon's equity opera-

on MCI options after the disclosure of its problems in breaking into local phone markets, the banker emerged as adviser to WorldCom on its higher offer.

The main task for Sir Iain will be to convince BT and MCI shareholders that, while the WorldCom deal might look a good option over the short term. a deal between BT and MCI -which already has accumulated up to \$2 billion of business through its Concert partnership - has real promise for the short to medium term.

It is the prospect of building on Bl'a European presence that is proving a magnet to both AT&T and some of the American Baby Bells, the regional serviceproviders in the US.

F

ducer David Belasco, who gave her the stage name Mary Pickford and put her in a hit play, the 15-year-old actress was a seasoned professional whose delicate, vulnerable beauty barely masked an iron will and ferocious ambition. Whitfield deduces that her theater acting was already simpler and more concerned with inner emotional truth than the period's conventional showy postur-

mini-adult whose ability to incarnate youngsters onstage was remarkable for one who'd had little direct experience of carefree childhood. By the time she bluffed her way into the office of Broadway procreated United Artists with Chaplin, ng. A lively account of her initial Fairbanks, Griffith and western star 1909 meeting with film director William S. Hart. This distribution D.W. Griffith depicts a disdainful vehicle for the principals' wholly

**Strong and Silent Star** ming for money, pricked in her pride and creative conscience: Pickford liked to be excellent . . lahe sensed) that translating stage acting onto celluloid demanded sea change in technique." Pickford develops that technique

Thoughts passed across her face like shadows, and she let them speak for her," writes Whitfield, who credits Pickford with doing as an actor what Griffith did as a director, intuitively grasping the artistic examination of this new medium and creating a new style to fulfill them. Astute analyses of Pickford's most famous roles — the Poor Little Rich Girl, Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm and the Little Princess, to name only a few -- point out that she perfected the blend of pathos and slapstick humor that Charlie Chaplin later made his trademark, and that her characters were usually feisty. streetwise adolescents, not innocent little girls. Whitfield contends that sanitized 1930s remakes of those three pictures by baby star Shirley Temple have tainted memories of Pickford's tougher interpretations.

She was tough off screen too. with a shrewd sense of her commer-East Lynne, followed by five gruelcial value. "America's Sweetheart" world in 1917, when she set off to sell war bonds with Chaplin and Douglas Fairbanks, who became her second husband in 1920. (The international appeal of their films made these three the first truly modern celebrities.) Any movie mogul who thought he could get away with paying her less than she was worth was speedily disillusioned. Her 1916 contract with Adolph Zukor's Famous Players gave her half a million dollars a year or half her films' net profits (whichever was greater), her own production company, the right to choose her directors and a voice in the final cut. Three years later, she



Mary Pickford: First celebrity of the modern age

charge of the asylum."

She had less command over her personal life. Her substanceabusing siblings were a constant source of embarrassment and potential scandal. Her primary commitment to her mother sabotaged her first marriage, and Charlotte's death in 1928 probably triggered her long slide into alcoholism. She and Fairbanks ruled Hollywood from Pickfair, their mansion on Summit Drive, but the marriage foundered as the talkies swept silent films' royalty into professional oblivion and psychological drift. Whitfield's account of the couple's

wisecrack "the lunatics have taken | vorce neither of them really wanted is quietly heartbreaking, as is her gentle depiction of Pickford's final marriage, to the selflessly devoted Buddy Rogers (whom she fre-

quently called "Douglas"). Pickford died in 1979, an alcoholic recluse so dismissive of her work that she once threatened to burn all her movies. Many have in fact been lost, and the others — like most silents - are often shown in badly deteriorated prints, dubbed with awful music. How fortunate, then, that the loving descriptions in this well-informed and passionate biography recapture the essence of those films, and of Mary Pickford's Pickford, convinced she was slum- | owned productions prompted the | lurching trajectory toward a 1936 di- | ploneering artistry.

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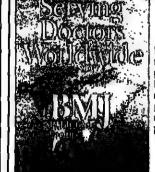
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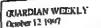
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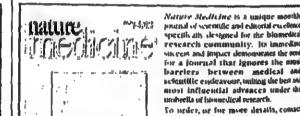
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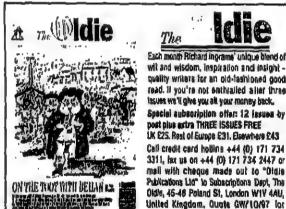
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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Bertrand de la Grange

Why should the Catholic Church, when it needs money so badly to help the poor,

criticise the drug barons for con-tributing to charities if their do-

nations help to "do good"? That.

asked by Canon Raul Soto in the

course of a sermon he gave on

eptember 19 in the church of

the Holy Virgin of Guadalupe is

parked a controversy that the

Catholic hierarchy would cer-

ainly have preferred to avoid.

As impoens every year on the mme day, when the 20,000

detims of the Mexico City earth-

uake 12 years ago ure commem-

liexico City. It immediately

in essence, was the question

COMMENT Henri Tincq

N SEPTEMBER 30, at a ceremony on the site of the Drancy deportation camp near Paris, high-ranking Catholic churchmen made a public apology for the French Church's attitude to wards Jews during the last war.

The symbolic force of clasped Christian and Jewish hands recalled other great acts of reconciliaion — Chancellor Willy Brandt kneeling in front of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial in 1970, President François Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Kohl standing silently side by side at Verdun cemetery in 1984, and President Jacques Chirac admitting, on July 16, 1995, France's "collective offence" in organising the rounding up of Jews at the Vel' d'Hiv' stadium exactly 53

years earlier, Much had already been done to bring Jews and Christians together casion the French Catholic hierarchy made a clean breast of what happened in the past and publicly repented.

German, Polish and French bishops have now acknowledged their wrongs. This only makes the silence of the Vatican all the more deafening — and paradoxical. No Pope before John Paul II was as insistent in urging his hierarchy to beg forgiveness for past wrong-doings and wipe the Church's slate clean. According to Lulgi Accattoll, an expert on the Vatican, the Pope has delivered almost 100 speeches of "repentance" relating to a wide variety of Issues, from the Crusades and the Inquisition to the wars of religion and the slave trade; a veritable avalanche of remorse and soul-

In the presence of Jewish leaders at Castelgandolfo, in Italy, in September 1987, the Pope promised he would draw up a statement on the Church's responsibility for anti-Semilism and the Holocaust. Ten years on, he has still not put his name, on behalf of the Church as a whole, to a document similar to those signed by French, German

and Polish bishops, Until his 1987 pledge, the Pope's initiatives had both amazed and irked the Jewish community. They included the canonisation in 1981 of Father Maximilian Kolbe, a notoriously anti-Semitic Pole who died in Auschwitz, and the beatification in I



Hands on . . . Rabbi Joseph Sitruk, right, shakes hands with Cardinal Joan-Marie Lustiger at a ceremony at Drancy, a former deportation camp near Paris, last week

1987 of another Auschwitz victim, the German philosopher Edith Stein, a Jew who became a

In 1987, Kurt Waldheim, a former Wehrmacht officer who had become president of Austria, was received with pomp and circumstance at the Vatican, while the rest of the international community snubbed him.

The 1987 agreement signed by Catholics and Jews providing for the removal of a Carmelite convent next to Auschwitz was not respected by the Polish clergy. The Vatican was slow to resolve the crisis. Matters have been made worse by the veil of secrecy with which the Vatican has shrouded Pope Plus XII's silence during the second world war.

The Pope, who talks of a "new evangelisation", is suspected of wishing to "Christianise" places of great Jewish suffering, and of interpreting the Holocaust as the fulfilment of the mystery of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. Amazingly, when visiting Auschwitz in June 1979, he described it as "the Calvary of the contemporary

There is now little point in raking up old grievances. No Pope has done as much as John Paul to reform the Catholic Church's teaching on Judaism. In 1986, he was the first Pope to visit Rome's main synagogue and express his "horror" at

"the hatred, persecutions and mani-festations of anti-Semitism that have occurred, no matter what the period or who was responsible". He told the Jews: "You are our favourite brothers and, in a sense, our elder brothers." He went to see Jewish communities in every country he visited, knelt before the Hebrew-inscribed memorial at

Birkenau, and became, in December 1993, the first Pope officially to recognise the state of Israel. And yet there remain lingering doubts about the Vatican's ability to take its self-criticism to its logical conclusion. The entire history of the Jewish people is one of accep-tance and rejection. French Jews have not forgotten that only a century after being described by the Convention as "citizens like other

people", they became embroiled in

— by the Vichy regime's exclusion of the Jews.

The latest rapprochement between Jews and Catholics is significant. Surprisingly, most of the social and intellectual moves to that end since 1945 have come from the grassroots rather than, as in this case, from the Catholic hierarchy.

No doubt the Pope's desire to pay his debt to the Jews is sincere. But he knows his Church is by no means ready to accept such a step unanimously, Reform has failed to reach everywhere. This is true of Poland, for example, and the Middle East, where Christians dread any gesture by the Vatiena that might

ook like a concession to Israel. The Vatican's current silence is ascribed by some to the impossibility of "objectifying the unobjectifiable". Might it not then be better to keep quiet rather than expatiate on the sufferings of others? Such a view is bound to be trotted out again in the wake of the Drancy ceremony. But talking about the past will never be in vain, because there will always be revisionists and future generathe Dreyfus affair, which itself was

tions tempted to forget.

### Communists in Japan look to the future

Philippe Pons in Tokyo

HE 21st congress of the last Lese Communist Party (G) which ended last week, market end of an era: 88-year-old le Miyamoto, its leader for almostidecades, bowed out as presiden he central committee.

After the deaths of Ho Chillian Mao Zedong and Kim Isc Miyamoto is the last surviving b. communist to have been a paneut member of the Comment. departure will probably access he JCP's shift to more model policies under the stewarklip residium president Tetsus frag md secretary-general Kazoo Să∵r' whom Miyamoto handed our C. running of the party in 1994.

The congress took two key to sions: that the JCP would be p pared to form part of a coal government at the beginning of 1st century, even if it included servatives; and that relations i the Chinese Communist Pa would be normalised.

With 26 deputies (and 52) cent of the vote), the JCP does carry much weight in parlianbut it is the only opposition [2] whose popularity has steady creased. Although its member: is stagnating, the JCP plays ale

ing role in political debate. The warnth of press commen the departing Miyamoto suggest! party still enjoys a certain and ly spite communism's negative in." in Japan, the JCP is respected to: opposition to militarism and is in pendence in breaking away & Beljing and Moscow in the sines But communist dissidents !

garded Miyamoto's party as small lith that stiffed internal debate. Although Miyamoto brough new blood in 1990 by appoint Shii, then aged 35, as secretary eral, change was impossible as as his shadow loomed over t party. Nobody knows if First F Shil will alter course.

The JCP is unlikely to opt for his willy in my mouth". Italian-style change of name at give up "democratic centralism". a split is opening between the social action, which will have it resolved if the JCP is to im ambition of having 100 deputes

tian, did not deny what had happrofessional and emotional problems, and had smoked "a joint" made with zamal, a particularly powerful type of cannabis from Réunion. He tierted thinking about his girlfriend and masturbated, at which point the

think I hurt the girl," he said. Friends and work colleagues

orated, hundreds of families had gathered in the church to listen to the clergy's message to all those who lost their lives. Soto reminded the congrega-

tion of the great upsurge of soli-darity that followed the tragedy. "Helping one's neighbour is the only way to achieve salvation." To illustrate his point, he men-

tioned the support he had re-ceived at the time from Rafael Caro, then the biggest marijuana trafficker, who made generous contributions to the religious organisations in charge of helping earthquake victims. "Sinners, too, can do good

deeds," Soto added. The congregation barely had time to get over their astonishment before

he started lauding the "magnifi-cent charitable work" done for his village by the most notorious Mexican drug baron, Amado Carrillo, who died last July after undergoing extensive plastic

But Soto was quick to add a rider: "One would like to be able to do the same as these rather unsavoury characters. But that doesn't mean the lives of drug traffickers should serve as an Mexican newspapers, which

have always kept a close eye on any declarations by prominent churchmen since the restoration of diplomatic relations between Mexico and the Vatican in 1992, immediately seized on Soto's

Do the drug traffickers' budgets include an entry for payments to the Church? they wondered. A rather irritated Archbishop of Mexico City, Monsignor Norberto Rivera, certified that the Church regarded the drug trade "as one of the scourges of humanity' and that he had "personally never received a cent from drug

The archbishop suggested to the newspapers that they should demand an explanation from Soto, who is widely recognised as carrying influence within the Church — he is both a professor at the Pontifical University, a member of the ecclesiastical nialgado nosing a bua lunudiri of 45 years' standing.

trnffickers".

Far from going back on what he had said, Soto confirmed that what he had meant to say was

capable of displaying solidarity", which was something that should shock no one.

"As for the dilemma over the problem of drug trafficking, the Church prefers to remain poor rather than receive ill-gotten gains," he said. He did, however add: "It has to be admitted that [traffickers] have infiltrated the state, the army and perhaps even the Church, which nevertheless remains the least corrupt institution,

Such remarks cannot have been greatly to the liking of the Mexican government, already under great pressure from the United States now that the Mexican cartels have becomthe main purveyors of Colombian cocaine to the US market.

### Moves on child abuse evidence

Maurice Peyrot and Michèle Aulagnon

O YOU know why you're here," asked the woman judge. The litde girl, clinging to her mother, nodded: "The man attacked me." That was all she could say. The judge asked her mother not to prompt her and went on: "He took your arm?" The girl nodded. "Gently?" She noded again. And so it went on until the irl, visibly exhausted, let her head oll against her mother.

The silence in court was unprecedented — and unbearable for the reporters and members of the public present. The parents of the girl, who was raped in 1995, had specifically asked for the case to be held in pubic, and not in camera as it could have been. They hoped the publicity sur-rounding the case would serve as "a warning" to potential offenders against children. "People mustn't be afraid, or their chikkren too ashamed, o lodge a complaint," they argued.

Yet their child gave only token evidence. Very soon the judge said her: "You've already come here ind seen a man in an office. You told him . . . " And she read out the child's testimony, in which she had told the investigating magistrate that a man in blue overalls, on the stairs of her block of flats, had put

The act was brief but indisputable, since the girl's cheek had been shown to bear traces of malespecific DNA corresponding to that the accused and of female-specific

whole episode. He had been having bule girl appeared. He claimed that it was as he gently pushed her aside that he smeared her cheek. "I don't

came to Bayse's defence. They thought he must have "flipped". Sevcrai said they would unhealtatingly dren, even after what had happened. or else gets embroidered with ele-Although Bayse had suppressed this memory, he sought no excuses this memory, he sought no excuses this have been asked tons they have been asked to the point have been asked to th point have I felt the slightest sexual | that he or she may retract.

desire for children." He seemed shaken by the girl's testimony: "I hadn't been able to see the girl's face. I think that's what I needed. From the depths of my heart, I ask her parents to forgive me." Dr Serge Bornstein, a psychia-

trist, told the court the girl was suffering from after-effects, such as nightmares and crying fits. He hoped that in time things would sort hemselves out. But he was worried about the effect on the girl of the media exposure the trial was getting. The trial, which required that a lit-

10 times (by parents, police, the investigating magistrate, social work-

Hubert Van Gijseghem, an expert on child sexual abuse, says; "For children, repeating a description of what happened means going through the experience again. By being asked to repeat themselves, they may feel they have not been believed, or not

Gisjegheni's research helped the French national police college to organise an experiment which showed that the amount of information gathered from the video-taped testimony of a child was three times greater than that obtained by traditional methods.

Because they do not have to take notes, police can to question the child more closely. The video also enables them to put on record various ges-tures — children may protect their face with their arm to evoke a slap, or put their hands round their neck to simulate an attempted strangling - which are rarely described when statements are taken down by hand.

The sexual delinquency bill now being tabled by the justice minister, Elisabeth Guigou, will authorise victims are questioned an average of | video and audio recordings of chil- | video has caused bad feeling bedren's evidence. The police are aware of the need for those using such methods to be properly trained. There are also worries about the lack of resources - few police stations and law courts have video cameras at their disposal.

In Paris, a working party made up of magistrates, lawyers and police belonging to the juvenile bureau will meet shortly to look into the

The audio-visual recording of children will raise new issues," says Yvon Tallec, head of the public prosecutor's office in charge of minors. I fear the impact of the image may be overrated. Clearly there'll be child victims who will look the part' and others who won't."

(September 18)

### Official anti-ETA video angers Basque nationalists

From a correspondent

HE Spanish interior ministry 🎩 has just produced a 15-minute video cassette on the armed Basque separatist organisation, ETA, El Rostro De La Eta (The Face Of ETA) opens with black-and-white pictures of hooded marksmen trainng in some unidentified part of the Spanish countryside. The video, which has caused uproar in Basque nationalist circles, is about to be sent out to Spanish embassies in 17 countries.

These include, on top of European Union member states, Latin American countries that may be sheltering ETA members, such as Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, as well as the United States and Morocco.

José Maria Aznar's government hopes to make both public opinion and the authorities in those countries more aware of the situation in the Basque country, and "make up for inadequate information" about ETA and its "political wing". Herri Batasuna (HB). The timing is deliberate: on October 6, 23 HB leaders will be tried in Madrid on charges of 'defending terrorism" and "colluslog with an armed gang". HB has also organised an international campaign to muster opposition to a trial hat it describes as "political".

The Interior ministry video, which will be passed on by embassies to the governments and leading media in the 17 countries concerned, has been broadcast in its entirety by two Spanish TV channels.

The violence depicted tween the Basque and the central government. It shows corpses, mutilated bodies, wrecked vehicles and pools of blood resulting from ETA's most murderous attacks, along with other powerful images such as that of the last ETA hostage freed by police after being held and starved for 532 days, shown side by side with a shockingly thin Buchenwald survivor and captioned "1945-1997".

There is grim music on the sound track as the screen is filled with the statistic: "ETA: 761 dead, including 19 children, since 1968." The commentary explains that Spain, a modern democracy for the past 20 years, has carried out major reforms, including the establishment of 17 autonomous regions.

The visuals illustrate this new

speed TGV trains, is an EU member and hosts Nato summits, but which has also given the Basque Country a very high degree of autonomy.

But, the commentary goes on, ETA, a "Mafia-like terrorist gang", still kills people. The video shows masked men burning the Spanish and French flags at an IIB meeting. Its aim is to sabotage HB's international campaign to muster support.

The HB leaders are accused of having distributed an ETA video cassette at election meetings in 1996 and of having justified certain ETA murders. HB points out that it is a legal party that represents 15 per cent of the electorate in the Basque Country.

It claims to have the support of 700 prominent figures, half of them outside Spain. They are thought to include the Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams, and the Plaza de Mayo grandmothers in Buenos Aires. HB has insisted that 20 international ob servers should attend the trial, which is giving the Spanish political community the jitters.

To

In answer to Basque nationalists who have pressed for the video to be withdrawn and accused the government of painting a terrifying picture both of the Basque Country and of Spain, the interior minister, Jaime Mayor, retorted: "The pic tures may be hard to take, but reality is even harder to take."

His arguments have failed to convince the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), which governs the Basque Country and whose relations with the central government have taken a sharp turn for the worse in recent

Its leader, Javier Arzalluz, said on September 22: "The PNV and Aznar's People's Party are now no longer bound by the pact they signed in 1996." Madrid's refusal to allow the Basque government to run its own National Institute for Employment was seen as the last straw. A PNV spokesperson has described the anti-ETA video as "a perverse use of violence",

### Le Monde

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### Serb 'war criminal' heads rights group Christian Lecomte in Sarajevo

HE decision by the Bosnian parliament to set up a human rights commission is opportune, given the many misdeeds that regularly take place

However, the Serb appointed to head the commission, Velibor Ostojic, is believed to be a war criminal. Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal has labelled him "the Goebbels of the Bosnian Serbs". Ostojic and Radovan Karadzic, the former leader of the Bosnian Serbs now charged with war crimes, were born in

neighbouring villages in Monte-negro and are old friends.

The mention of Ostojic's name strikes terror in those who have met him. "He's the man who played football with the decapitated heads of Muslims in Foca in 1992," says Ziba Adilovic, a Muslim woman from that east Bosnian town. She has been unable to sleep properly ever since she heard of the appointment of the man she describes as "the executioner of Foca".

Foca, whose pre-war population of 40,000 was 52 per cent Muslim and 45 per cent Serb. was one of the first Bosnian

towns to be taken by Serb forces after ruthless "ethnic cleansing".

A member of Karadzic's secessionist government. Ostolic organised the conquest of Foca by arming Serb militiamen and urging them to rid the town of all non-Serbs. "One day, my neighbour's son disappeared," says Adilovic. "She found his body on the bridge over the Drina river. He had been decapitated, but she recognised his checked shirt." "Ostojic is in a position of

authority, whereas he ought to be tried," says Nedziba, another former inhabitant of Foca, who lost five members of her family.

However, Ostojic's appointment was made democratically. He was eligible to stand for the job because he had been elected to parliament as a deputy for the Serb Democratic party (SDS) in Bosnia's general election in September 1996. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe — which organised the poll and was supposed to weed out any candidates "with a past" — had approved his candidacy.

All deputies in the nationalist parties that make up an overwhelming majority in the Bosnian parliament — the Serb SDS. Bosnian president Alija Izethegovic's Muslim Party for Democratic Action (SDA) and

Ostolic by a show of bands.
The SDA now admits the made a mistake. "We didn't be which candidates we were with for," says Adnan Janiic, pre of the SDA group in the Roses parliament. He stood down September 25 at the request his party, which wanted to use the indignation in its ranks.

Ostojic will occupy his post.

at least a year. The commit clude refugees. In other wife liberdes in Bosnia will be further restricted and then home of hundreds of thousand of displaced persons seem increasingly in jeopardy.
(September 30)

NA contained in her own saliva. Pascal Bayse, a 43-year-old electrithe beginning of the next century the Croat HDZ - voted for

the girl had to describe, in front of 100 people, how she was sexually attacked two-and-a-half years earlier, illustrates how much suffering could be avoided by the use of video-taped testimony. It is believed that child

ers, lawyers and psychiatrists). said what adults expected.

sion, their account changes and becomes less detailed, sometimes to

With each new questioning ses-

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English as the language of business has prompted a teaching boom in Eastern Europe, says John Hughes

the new capitalist economies of Central and Eastern Europe what they are studying and it seems that well over half reply "Economics". Having been an English teacher in Eastern Europe for a number of years, I tend only to meet students who are also learning English; where you meet a student of economics, you will most assuredly meet a student of English. The difference, however, is that where an economics degree is currently in vogue and at the height of fashion, learning and speaking English is simply a matter of career survival.

Pick up a newspaper in Prague or Budapest and most advertisements in the professional jobs section will be in English. In many cases the whole recruitment process - from letter of application to interview to lob offer — is in English, especially where the position is with one of the many branches of international firms now operating in this part of the world. So, while economics graduates may never have to dust off their course notes again, they may well be forever brushing up their English to keep their jobs and move up the career ladder.

The boom in English language earning has put a huge strain on state education, and has led to a

SK any university student in high franca and preserve their jobs. In the new capitalist economies Poland, the British Council in conjunction with the Ministry of Education hopes to have trained enough teachers by 2001 to satisfy the estimated 20,000-30,000 needed. Meanwhile state schools remain illequipped to cope with demand, so Polish parents accept it as a matter of course that their children attend extra English classes after school. Currently, more than 70 per cent of those enrolling at private language schools are aged under 18. Naturally, many state-trained teachers of English are slipping away from poorly paid state schools into fulltime posts in the private sector.

Local teachers often have a high level of English, but teachers from Britain or a country whose native language is English will have no problems finding work. It is still possible for the unqualified backpacker to be approached and offered a job. Such a style of recruitment was commonplace among language schools during the early nineties. The schools set up at the end of the cold war were often formed by state education teachers who hired classrooms from their day-time employers and ran classes in the evening to supplement their meagre salaries.

It quickly became clear to them that native speakers of English were thriving network of private language a strong selling point, particularly schools. Since 1989, teachers of I for teaching higher levels, Finances Russian have been cramming Eng- | would not allow the school to relish in order to teach the new lingua | cruit teachers from Britain through

the pages of the Guardian or Times | ganisations dedicated to achieving | Educational Supplement, And so, by | and maintaining standards within employing the passing (untrained) traveller with a few months to spare. private language schools satisfied the (misguided and now changing) customer belief that a native speaker is the best kind of teacher. Salaries then were no higher than the local rate and it was common to find yourself working alongside teachers from voluntary organisations such as Britain's Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) and the American Peace Corps. Nowadays, teachers in search of

quick fortune do not put ex-communist Europe at the top of their destination list. However, by working in one of the large cities such as Warsaw a teacher may be able to earn a wage that is only 15 per cent less than would be paid in Italy, ac-cording to one British EFL recruitment agency. Teachers also often discover that they are working for schools that are professionally-run, customer-orientated businesses that provide all the services one would expect from the developed EFL markets of Madrid or Milan. Indeed, many who have worked in Mediterranean countries and move to Eastern Europe will vouch that the quality of schools is often notice-

ably higher. The commitment among many schools to quality may stem in part from the Central-Eastern European pride in having some of the highest literacy rates in the world. The Hungarian Chamber of Language Schools and the Polish Associations for Standards in English are two or-

and maintaining standards within language schools. They run schemes aiming to guarantee a level of pedagogic quality, favourable terms and conditions for teachers and the provision of effective managerial structures. By proving this status through visits from outside auditors, schools gain the right to bear the scheme's logo on their publicity material.

This has obvious benefits to both prospective students and teachers. In striving for academic excellence, a recognised school may offer its employees the chance to take teacher training courses and internationally recognised TEFL qualifications. It is as possible now to get a CTEFLA or a DTEFLA in Krakow as it is in London.

CHOOLS send teachers to conferences and workshops of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL), which has branches in many Eastern European countries. Last year, the fifth Polish conference had 800 participants from 13 different countries. A glance down the page of a list of conference participants will reveal place-names such as Latvia, Estonia, Belarus, Bulgaria and Slovakia.

Although the money teachers earn may go a long way, the standard of living in Eastern Europe can be poor in terms of air quality, housing and food. Nevertheless, good private schools will pay air fares, find accommodation and organise work permits.

The arrival of big language-teach-

carious management methods streamlined systems of admission. The legendary Kakang bureaucracy does exist, but is most schools this is as a product laws and officialdom that is sort change. The schools themsels, having realised that they must on nete to survive, have turned our teachers into marketing manager sales reps and accountanta Recognising this need for ma agement know-how brought which

from all over Eastern Europe gether in 1996 to hold the firs III: management conference. Originals it was conceived as a menty ground for English language schools to discuss the issues him: people with no experience of Was ern business methods. This yearle conference in Budapest attracted a terest not only from the Easthate Far East as well and future contra ences will be open to managers and owners from countries all merte world. It seems, therefore, that it the world of ELT, a part of the glob that is usually looking elsewherein ideas may at last be having itside looked at by the world.

studies for Business Englishina Polish language school. If you are an EFL teacher and has useful advice you wish to share #3 uthers, feel tree to submit anatic? of no more than 1,000 words loke luardian Weekly, 75 Fannydon® London EC 1M 3HQ, UK (E-mail archaress: www.hly@guardian.co.wk@ Fast, +444-171-242 0985), We hope tu publish the best pricle in the

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Reporting to the Director, the Programme Director co-ordinates long term development and emergency relief programmes in Asia and Africa with a team of cleven staff in Hong Kong and offices in Chang Victuam and Cambodia, Responsibilities include management and administration, staff development, and policy and strategic planning. The Programme Director will represent Oxfam Hong Kang of programme matters in Oxfam International, in international development circles and with the media.

Essential requirements for this position include:

 Several years experience in poverty affectation or emergency relief work.

 Gender-aware management, administration and human resource development experience, preterably with nongovernmental organizations.

 Willingness to travel frequently, sometimes to remote areas. Good communication, reporting and negotiating skills in

English

Commitment to Oxfam's goals.

Knowledge of Chinese would be highly desirable. Current salary scale is 11K\$38,500-\$44,677 per month

Please send your application and C.V. to the Assistant to the Director, Oxfam Hong Kong, 9/14, 191 Woosing Street, Jordan Kowloon, Hong Kong or by fax to 2527-6307, Closing date for application - 5 November 1997. Interviews will be held in BK or 26-28 November

#### UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Freuity of Classics Applications are invited for the following newly established posts in the fraculty of Classics:

University Lecturer or Assistant Lecturer

the more general context of ancient cultural history. It is expected that the interests of the person appointed will extend tute other fields, such as arthinly in

#### University Lecturer or Assistant Lecture in Classics (Linguistics and Philology)

opplications for this post (to start on 1 October 1998) are invited from suitable qualified and exponenced candidates. The Linguistics and Philology section of the Faculty is responsible for teaching descriptive inguistics of Greek and Lain for Part I of the Classical Tripos, and the historical linguistics of the two languages and comparative linguistics of the Indo-European languages for Part I, is well at the land-European languages for Part I, is well at the description. supervising graduate students working in these fields. The tuccestal dankling will be required to take A full part in these activities and to engage in research relevant to the teaching programme.

both posts the scale of stipends is \$19,372 - \$29,875 for a University Leating and £16,045 - £21,016 for a University Assistant Lacturer.

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#### Social Development Adviser

The British Council in India is seeking an experienced Health Social Development Adviser for its Field Management Office (FMO).

The Health FMO manages a portfolio of the Department for International Development (DFID) funded projects in the health and population sector concentrating on primary health care, control of major communicable diseases such as Malaria, TB and AIDS and rehabilitation of the disabled. Two major projects are concerned with health systems development in the state of Orissa, and malaria control and research in Gujarat.

Duties and responsibilities: the Social Development Adviser will work as a full member of the FMO team which supports partner organisation to achieve their objectives. The successful applicant will provide specialist social development analysis, advice and management inputs leading to the successful implementati of the programme; to focus particularly on the means and methods of project interventions and take up of health services; ensure participation of the poor and women in all aspects of project activities and enable project partners to realise these objectives.

Qualifications and experience: the successful applicant will hold a relevant first degree and a higher degree in a relevant social science discipline such as Social Anthropology, Sociology or Social Planning, Several years experience of working overseas is required preferably in India or South Asia. S/he will be competent in social development planning, gender, community based participation, poverty reduction, social policy and health, population, family

Essential skills include: strong interpersonal and communication; facilitation and analytical abilities; evidence of working in a multi-disciplinary team and working with project stakeholders including central government and national institutions; a sound understanding of the processes of managing change. The post will involve extensive travel within India.

Salary: a competitive salary will be offered based on qualifications and experience. Contract: initially for two years commencing January 1998, renewable. As this post holds diplomatic status all applicants must hold UK

nationality. Closing date for applications: 29 October 1997.

Interviews: to be held in Manchester.

Post reference: 97/N/010.

Requests for further details and application form, quoting post reference and enclosing an A4 sae (39p) to: Overseas Appointments Services, The British Council, Bridgewater House, 58 Whitworth Street, Manchester M1 6BB.

Telephone: (0161: 957 7383, fax: (0161) 957 7397, e-mail: Mark. Hepworth@britcoun.org The British Council and DFID are committed to a policy of equal opportunities.

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Malawi AP/SL/L Language & Communication W46121 Natal (South Africa) SL/L Surveying and Mapping W46113 Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Administration & Support Univ. of the North (South Africa) W46125 NUST Zimbabwe AP/SL/L Industrial Engineering W48139 SL/L Organic Chemistry West Indies (Jamaica W46129 West Indies (Trinidad) L/AL Language & Linguistics W46114

L/AL Computer Aided Manufacturing & Product Design W46115 West Indies (Trinidad **AUSTRALIA** W46123 Griffith (Queonsland AP Clinical Psychology L Literatur W46101 Executive Dean, Faculty of Biological & Chemical Queensland W46102

SL/L Exercise Physiology W46117 Queensland SL/L Motor Control W46118 SL/L Mining Engineering W46119 Queensiano **SL/L Information System** W46124

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W46103 L Optometry SL/L Translation Studies Auckland W46104 PDF Pharmacology & Glinical Pharmacology Auckland W46105 Auckland SL Anatomical Pathology W46108 W46107

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PACIFIC South Pacific (Fijl) AP/SL History UNITED KINGDOM P Mathematics

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FIIID Seeks Candidates for **Accounting Specialist** 

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email: personnel@ishtm.ac.uk) Applications with CV and

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the region and outside.

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#### Terms

The position is on a two-year contract, possibly renewable. Terms and onditions are negotiable within frames for international staff in Redd Barno.

P.O. Box 12018, Kampalu, Uganda, before November 15th, 1997. E-mail address, rbu@imal.com. Only an application including contact address or telephone number of 3 reference persons as well as a CV should be sent initially. Testimonials, diplomas, etc. will be requested at

#### **Center Director**

Center for Wildlife Management Studies - Ath! River, Kenya Center for Wetland Studies - Baja, Mexico Center for Marine Resources - South Calcos, British West Indies Center for Rainforest Studies -Yungaburra, Queensland, Australia START DATE:JANUARY 1998

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QUALIFICATIONS: PhD or Masters in a relevant field, 5 + years of demonstrated upper level management experience, entrepreneurtal ability, and proven experience with the following: institution building: fundraising; teaching college aged students; budget management; project management; giving presentations; running academic or similar programs; and heating environmental issue driven projects, programs or organizations. Must have the desire and drive to develop and head a school along with the ability to articulate the direction for the Center and the ability to travel up to 50% of the time and the lifestyle to live on site the other times. Experience of working and twing in Kenya, Australia, Baja Mexico or the Caribbean under field conditions pre

TO APPLY: Send a detailed letter explaining research experience, interests and skills, CV with names and telephone numbers of 3 references to:

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the leishmaniasis control and treatment services. Available from March Programme director (Pashawar), to coordinate the various control and

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sustainable development. Qualifications: An appropriate health degree, oversees managerial experience, experience in the control of vector borne disease is desirable. For further information and job descriptions contact: Judith Zaşi, HealthNet international, Singel 540, 1017 AZ Amsterdam; The..... ands. Tel: (31) 20 420 1115 Fax: (31) 20 4 20 1503, e-mail;



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Essential requirements for this position include

 Several years experience in powerty alleviation or emogracy relief work.

 Gender-aware management, administration and human resource development experience, preferably with nongovernmental organization

Willingness to travel frequently, sometimes to remote area

 Good communication, reporting and negotiating skills in English.

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Knowledge of Chinese would be highly desirable. Current salay scale is IIK\$38,500-\$44,677 per month

Plense send your application and C.V. to the Assistant to the Director, Oxfam Hong Kong, 9/F1 191 Woosing Street, John. Kowloon Hong Kong or by lax to 2527-6307 Closing date for application: S November 1997, Interviews will be held in RK or 26-28 November

#### UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Faculty of Classics Applications are instinct for the following newly established posts in the l aculty of Classics:

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#### University Lecturer or Assistant Lecturer in Classics (Linguistics and Philology)

applications for this post (to start on 1 October 1998) are imited from substiqualified and exponenced candidates. The Linguistics and Philology sector of the Faculty is responsible for teaching descriptive linguistics of Great and Lands Part I of the Classical Tripos, and the historical linguistics of the two languages and comparative linguistics of the Indo-European languages for Part II is set in the Indo-European languages for II is set in I supervising graduate students working in these faids. The successful shouldn't will be required to take a full part in these activities and to engage in reservi-

For both posts the scale of stipends is £19,372 - £29,875 for a University Lection and £16,045 - £21,016 for a University Assistant Lecturer.

Further particulars of either post may be obtained from the Secretary of the Appointments Committee, Dr GM King, Faculty of Classics, Sidgetch Arena, Cambridge CB3 9DA (a-mait gmic209cam.ac.uk). The desing date for applications, which should include a detailed curriculum vities and its of publications trigities with the names of two or three referees, is 31 October 1997. rienees should be asked to write directly to the Secretary to reach her by the osing date. There is no application form

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The Health FMO manages a portfolio of the Department for International Davalopment (DFID) funded projects in the health and population sector concentrating on primary health care, control of major communicable diseases such as Malaria, TB and AIDS and rehabilitation of the disabled. Two major projects are concerned with health systems development in the state of Orissa, and malaria control and research in Gujarat.

Duties and responsibilities: the Social Development Adviser will work as a full member of the FMO team which supports partner organisation to achieve their objectives. The successful applicant will provide specialist social development analysis, advice and management inputs leading to the successful implementation of the programme; to focus particularly on the means and methods of project interventions and take up of health services; ensure participation of the poor and women in all aspects of project activities and enable project partners to realise

Qualifications and experience: the successful applicant will hold a relevant first degree and a higher degree in a relevant social science discipline such as Social Anthropology, Sociology or Social Planning. Several years experience of working overseas is required preferably in India or South Asia. S/he will be competent in social development planning, gender, community based participation, poverty reduction, social policy and health, population, family

Essential skills include: strong interpersonal and communication; facilitation and analytical abilities; evidence of working in a multi-disciplinary team and working with project stakeholders including central government and national institutions; a sound understanding of the processes of managing change. The post will involve extensive travel within India.

Salary: a competitive salary will be offered based on qualifications and experience. Contract: initially for two years commencing January 1998, renewable. As this post holds diplomatic status all applicants must hold UK

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Candidates must have an educational background in accounting and professional accounting cartification Substantial experience in development and implementation of training programs for government bookseepers and accountants. Experience in public accounting. Four years in developing countries. Experience with government accounting systems, particularly single entry systems and modified single entry systems required. Experience with occusi on accounts payable and receivable preferred. English fluency required.

Send cover letter and resume as soon as possible. HIID Recruitment-Ethiopia Accounting. One Eliot Street, Cambridge, MA USA 02138, or lax to 617/498-8190.

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reputation that these texts have

of being difficult because they

write in the introduction to

topic of furious — and unfath-

the Latin Quarter.

"Our aim is to say that the em

quite such an uproar,

phy is a load of old tosh.

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year ?

#### Truth's false hope attend an information and assessment session between 19 and 21 November, 1907. Linal interpretes will take place

Theologian Don Cupitt offers an escape route for scientists suffering from a complex about God. writes Gail Vines

HE Oxford Union wants to ossession of the crown of "truth"

old love affair with "truth".

last disappearing.

marginalised by his own church."

Secure than he supposes.

He claims scientists are in danger of assuming theology's discredited of authority; the myth of absolute truth, the God's eye point.

The claims scientists are in danger of the sciences, whether one angles. If the price of liberty is the close of truth the comments. The has dared truth, he says. Far better to adopt innovation. He reckons that our strongest hold on the world lies in ature of faith, the meaning of God, ence", using its ways of thinking our acknowledging our limitations.

The price of liberty is trying to meet, and what question in the price of truth the eternal vigilance, the price of truth is entrying to meet, and what question is endless openness to criticism and truth, he says. Far better to adopt innovation. He reckons that our strongest hold on the world lies in our acknowledging our limitations.

of view still holds great appeal. "Dreams of a final theory of everything' in physics, just like the overblown claims made for the human genome project, perpetuate old theo-logical myths of perfect happiness through total knowledge and total control of reality," he says. Such "grandiose totalising dreams" show science trying to become itself a new theology: "It's as if science thinks it has to present itself as dogma, as big science offering big truth, to convince politicians to fund it."

Cupitt's first love was biology

before he was ordained as a priest

are deep. We show that if they

the very good reason that they

have nothing to say."

The authors — a physics professor at New York University

and a theoretical physicist from

laughter one by one the sacred

cows of contemporary French

thought, from the psychoanalys

Jacques Lacan and the semioti-

Latour, the scientific sociologist,

"They talk abundantly of scientific theories of which they

bave, at best, a very vague un-

superficial erudition by throwing

words at the reader in a context

where they have no relevance.

They demonstrate a veritable in

toxication with words, combined

with a superb indifference to

their meaning," the pair write.

Quoting extensively from

derstanding. They display a

cian Julia Kristeva to Bruno

and the prominent leftwing philosopher Régis Debray.

the University of Louvain ---

seem incomprehensible, it is for

in 1959. He understands the attractions of both systems of belief. "When I was in my teens the leading cultural influences of the day were Sartre's existentialism, a rather aggressive scientism and popular neo-orthodox Christianity. was influenced strongly by all three." The three schools of thought all advocated a metaphysics of spiritual individualism, preaching the superiority of disengagement from, and transcendence of, the ordinary day-to-day world. Appar-ently, only by adopting a detached Olympian stance could one conquer the world — gaining objective knowledge of the truth, and com-

munion with God. He abandoned Anglican ortho-doxy almost 20 years ago, publishing a powerful tract entitled Taking Leave Of God, followed in the mid-1980s by a landmark book and TV according to Jones, the shark's habi- series called The Sea Of Faith. He tat — "the ocean of ignorance" — is has written 25 books in as many fast disappearing.

In Cupitt's view, the tiger is also endangered, and for similar reasons. "Making science into a new sort of religious dogma won't do the world arrange of the company world any good at all," The Oxford | cism and on the philosopher Martin Heidegger's idea of "being" - are trashed the traditional religious op due out next year. Cupitt cate

cent Christian, 20 per cent Jewish, 30 per cent Buddhlst". "The tragedy for Christianity", says Rabbi Dan Cohn-Sherbok, "is also want to suggest that Atkins's tilat Cupitt has been relentlessly own grip on "reality" is rather less secure than he supposes. Journalist Gerald Kelly, writing in the Times Higher Education Supposes assuming theology's discredited mantle of authority; the myth of to reinink all that is sacred—the absolute the myth of God.

some of France's greatest minds, Mr Sokal and Mr Bricmont set about systematically demolishing their writings as deliberately obscure, excessively convoluted

pseudo-scientific claptrap. Jacques Lacan, one of the bestknown psychoanalysts of the century, is criticised for "arbitrarily mixing key words of mathematical theory, without in the least caring about their meaning". The authors take particular

Is modern French philosophy just a load of pseudo-scientific claptrap?

exception to one of Mr Lacan's esser-known theories, in which he argues that "the erect male organ, not as itself, not even as image, but as the missing piece of the desired image, is thus equal to the square root of -1 of

the highest produced meaning". In attempting to construct a mathematical formula for poetic language, Ms Kristeva, too, is guilty of "trying to Impress the reader with scientific words which she manifestly does not understand".

"She has a vague idea of what she is talking about, but not much," they write.

The works of Gilles Deleuze, a leading contemporary French philosopher who died recently. are "principally characterised by their lack of clarity . . . stuffed with very technical terms used out of context, and with no apparent logic".

And of Jean Baudrillard, an influential sociologist and regular columnist for Libération

newapaper, the authors conclude: "In the final analysis, one could ask what would actually remain of Baudrillard's thoughts if one removed the verbose veneer that cloaks them."

Unaurprisingly, the unprecedented attack has inflamed the Left Bank, home to the cream of France's intellectuals since the days of Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, and

prompted outrage in the press. "This is war," the daily newswhile the front cover of the veekly news magazine Le Nouvel Observateur demanded: "Are our philosophers imposters?

Stung, thinkers have hastened to respond. "What's the point of such a polemic, so far removed from present-day preoccupations?" asked Ms Kristeva. "It's an anti-French intellectual

Writer Roger-Pol Droit saw the proadside as part of a sinister new vogue for "scientific, as opposed to political, correctness"

It is clear the philosophers have been shaken. In the words of another of the book's targets, the psychoanalyst Felix Guattari. "Existence, as a process of deterritorialisation, ls a specific intermechanic operation which superimposes itself on the promotion of singularised existential intensities. It is barely livable."

sign Don Cupitt for a rerun of its classic debate on science versus religion, a sparring match for But the radical Cambridge theologian doesn't want to play. "Not again," he groans. "Why are we still doing this after a hundred years?" What Cupitt wants to see is a revolution in our conceptions of both science and God. "We must abandon the myth of ready-made immutable truths out there," he says, "and ecognise that we ourselves tell all the stories," In the closing years of the 20th century, science and theobay have much in common, he argues: both need to outgrow their

This is fighting talk to Britain's eading media scientists, who like othing better than to paint science and religion as polar opposites. In his recent book, in The Blood, geneticist Steve Jones claims that acience and religion, have in the end rather little to do with each other". He portrays their relationship as a battle between a religious shark and a scientific tiger, each invincible in its own element. Yet,

chemist Peter Atkins once famously position with the remark that being gorises his present religious views a professor of theology was like have a "eclectic and improvised — 50 per a professor of theology was like having a chair in fantasy studies. Cupitt probably wouldn't disagree: he himself doesn't believe in the objective existence of a God. Yet he would



Cupitti cheerfully pragmatic view of science . PHOTO: GRAHAM TURNER

the role of religion — in an endearingly demotic style that has earned him an audience beyond academe and some disdain within it. For Cupitt, God is an ideal, a focus to live by, not a superbeing whose existence has to be proved; ... and religion should be a guide for living, not a preparation for dying."

If it is to survive in the contempo rary world, religion must be viewed not as truth, but as a set of spiritual tools, says Cupitt, enhancing our lives in the way that the arts do.

All this is something to celebrate to welcome, says Cupitt — people no longer want to find our answers ready made, all our problems solved by allegiance to some creed, or even some scientific authority. "We deny any queen of the sciences, whether

without becoming slaves to them. Religion, morality and art can then become consciously corrective. "They will set out to counteract, and to liberate us from, the ways must think in our technological and bureaucratic culture. By all means let us look at a sunset with the eyes of a physicist when it is appropriate to do so, but as a corrective let us learn also to look at a sunset with

the eyes of a Turner."

Cupitt rejects the idea of a one truth universe, teaching lastead what he calls "cosmic democracy: everything is seen as depending upon open debate, healthy institutions, and a human consensus refreshed by frequent injections of new metaphors, new valuations, new angles, if the price of liberty is

"I love science, I started as a scientist. But I would like a science that is less orientated towards power and control, and more able to w imaginative, pluralistic and solfcritical," he says, "Science only exists in living communities where people keep arguing and changing their minds." He adds: "We should resist the temptation to claim some sort of objective or supernatural origins for our knowledge systems."

Cupitt sees the growth of fundamentalist religious movements as a protest against a world that attribates supreme value to technical advance and economic growth. But te believes their solution is wrong. The answer is not to try to go back in time; third millennium people will not live with a medieval outlook."

OR Cupitt, religion remains
"humanly necessary" — only
a truly liberated religious imagination can generate the visions of the good life and of the good society that we need. From this perspective, faith comes to signify the conviction that we can give meanings to life beyond those generated by a globalised marketplace.

Once, the Church repressed questioning to protect its own power, says Cupitt. Today the same repression continues under the negemony of the technological rationality that seeks to reduce all the questions of life to technical problems, all education to technical education, and all knowledge to technical skills," he argues.

But is there a future for other world views? Cupitt is not entirely optimistic. In the wake of the enorlous resources allocated to techi science today, modern philosophers or religious thinkers cannot hope to produce a serious rival to the modern scientific world picture. No alternative "view of life or system of thought has the sort of worldwide cogency and attractiveness as our natural science and the techno-logies based on it," he says. But just as painters, "beaten" by photographers, learnt to paint in new, "post-realist" ways, so religious thinkers and philosophers can show "what it is to live religiously or to think philosophically: what needs we are rying to meet, and what questions

Don Cupitt's After God: The Future

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### Wild spirit of Tuscany

Paul Evans.

LANG, dong, clang . . . the bells of ridgetop churches ring out with a truly Tuscan attitude: relaxed and timeless, a redolence rich and warm with chianti grapes ripening at harvest-time. A lone buzzard mews its own chimes high above, riding the thermals of a sunny afternoon. The buz-zard scans the world below — the mosaic of olive groves, vineyards, rolling ploughed fields, exclamatory cypresses and deep woods. We read the same landscape using different languages.
Through the olive grove forage a

small posse of rock partridge. These plump, greyish birds with red legs and a clear black band which crosses their eyes like a burglar's mask and meets under their white throats are found in rocky evergreen forests and scrub in the hill country of Italy and Greece. They're also found, I suspect, plucked and plasticked in the local supermarket. The rock partridge colours fit perfectly with the olives and cypresses and they have that fashionable, slightly superior, Florentine walk that seems to have stepped straight out of a Renaissance fresco.

Everything in Tuscany seems to be ripening; you can taste it in the air. A fig tree mutters in the dry rattly breeze, its milky sap suckling the green bullets of fruit to rich winepurple. But these just plop to earth like droppings, unpicked. Those who do give a fig are the earlymorning jays and the wasps and butterflies which blunder drunkenly away from the mess of fallen

Famous for the fecundity of its culinary delights, everything in this part of Italy seems to be on someone's menu. The woods which clothe the ridges and precipitous ravines are also home to wild hoar. Boar hunting is beginning and vantage points in the undergrowth have been cleared by hunters. Beneath a canous of oak, ash, elm and pine live laurel and spiny, evergreen butcher's



broom. In dappled sunlight, cyclamen with pink to white upswept pcials bloom

Out in the open, the heat of the afternoon buzzes dreamily with crickets and cicadas which are echoed by the engines of motor scooters and little three-wheeler vans laden with buckets of tomatoes and boxes of grapes, labouring up the hill. Suddenly materialising, lizards, with heads high, backs long and tails tramlined into the electricity of the earth, flash with meteor speed, A shiny black scorpion wanders slowly across a doorstep, visiting the dark corners of a sunstruck afternoon, trafficking some ancient myth.

Darkness falls quickly. A fox emerges from a bramble patch, yawns, then sets off for the nocturnal life that everyone else in haly seems to be preparing for. Later, the sky shakes with white flashes and explosions as thousands of fireworks flower under the stars. This is the exuberance of a Tuscan harvest festival. In the spirit of this ancient landscape, the fertility of nature and the labours of its people are celebrated with fire and noise. Out of the wooded shadows, behind the slow, peaceful façade of daytime. Tuscany's wine and food come from this wild spirit, like a great wild boar charging through the night.

#### Chess Leonard Barden

BACK in 1982, Anatoly Karpov gave a 25-board simul against the England junior squad. The opposition was hot: future GMa Hodgson and King were on the top bourds, and Conquest, Gallagher and Howell were lower down.

Even the bottom board, Edward Lee, was selected to deliver a surprise punch at the end of the world champion's tours of the hall; he had won his six previous simuls against GMs, and Karpov became his seventh victim.

Karpov realised he had to work, fought his way out of some poor positions and emerged after six hours with +12 - 8 - 5. which he admitted was the worst result of his life.

In 1986, Kasparov played the same aquad. It was summer exam time, the team was weaker, so Kasparov's +9 = 8 - 3 was less convincing than Karpov's results. He even lost his temper with one opponent, claiming wrongly that the junior's draw offer was a breach of Fide rules. Spectators of both events rightly concluded that the next world championship series would be closely

A few weeks ago, K and K had similar head-to-head simul, but the outcome was very lifferent, Kurpov, playing eight Chinese boys and eight girls in Beijing, could score only +5 = 9 2, and then lost +1 = 3 - 2 in a clock match against the boys.

Kasparov met far stronger opposition: the Argentine Hympiad team, most of them 2,500-rated grandmasters, in Buenos Aires. His result (+6 = 5 - 1) and sames were impressive and if the simula are a guide.

Kasparov v Spangenberg 1 d4 d5 2 N63 Nf6 3 c4 dxc4 4 Be7 or 2 Qb5 e3 e6 5 Bxc4 e5 6 0-0 a6 7 Bb3 for 1 c4? d3!

Karpov basm't a hope if they play

mother match.

Nc6?! b5 is a more critical test of the white formation.

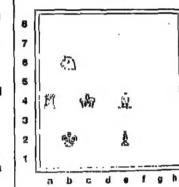
8 Nc3 Bc7 9 Qe2 0-0 10 Rd1 exd4 11 Nxd4 Nxd4 12 exd4 Nd5 Black's position is already difficult. In many lines, White can break up the centre by d4-d5, while Kasparov's delayed development of his c1 bishop means that this piece can track the BQ whether it moves to a5, b6 or c7.

13 Qf3l Breaking up Blacks attempted blockade. Nxc3 14 bx3 Qc7 15 c4 The opening has been a disaster for Black, whose pieces lack reasonable squares.

Bd6 16 c5 Be7 17 Bf4 Qd7 18 Rac1 Qc6 19 d5 exd5 20 Bxd5 Qg6 21 h3 Stops Bg4. White has a dream position, where every piece is in action while Black's

Ra7 22 Qe3 Bf6 23 c6 bxc6 24 Be4! 24 Qxa 7 wins the exchange, but Kasparov wants a whole rook. Bf5 25 Bxf5 Qxf5 26 g4!

No 2493



White mutes in three moves, against any defence (by Pal Benko, 1993). Another ministure by American's problemcomposing GM: you have to nuite before Black's promoting pawn can do any damage.

No 2492: 1 Qd3 Rxd3+2 cxd3 mate. On other black defences White mates by 2 Na6, 2 Nb3, Be7 or 2 Qb5. The finalists fell

#### Letter from Central Slovakia Edward Cullen

### Doing the salamander

bugle calls that have issued all week from the Tannoys in town must mean. Of course! The salamander is There is a legend here about a

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

salamander. Years ago, a shepherd, sitting out with his flock through the heat of a scorching summer day, became aware of a salamander sitting in the shade beside him. Time passed, the sheep nibbled lazily at the grass and the sun moved higher. All at once, or so it seemed to the shepherd, the shadows slipped away and the salamander lay in the full gaze of the sun, and it glistened and sparkled like gold. Stunned, the shepherd crept closer and realised that the salamander was covered with gold dust. He reached out to touch the creature but it slipped away between the rocks. When the shepherd came down from the hills and told his story, the people realised for the first time that there were riches buried in their hills.

This, the story goes, was how the face of the countryside, and the fate of the people who lived in this mountainous region of Slovakia, were transformed. Gold and silver mining developed rapidly and brought prosperity for the next thousand years. Now the mines are closed, but every year the people remember and celebrate the salamander.

The celebration lasts for two days and draws people from the surrounding villages and even further slield. The main square is filled with a street market and spills over as people move from stall to stall, eating the food and drinking the alcohol for sale. Some stalls sell beer but most sell home-produced (and often cloudy) white wine. At one side of the cobbled square a stage is set up for folk singing and dancing, choirs and bands.

By early evening, the air is heavy with the scent of wine and there is plenty of evidence of serious drinking. More and more people arrive, streaming up the hill from the lower part of town to watch the salamander procession. This is timed to reach the square just as night falls

T IS Friday afternoon and the start of a holiday weekend. Suddenly I understand what the land is the major event of the festival. For a kilometre in each direction, the main street leading up to tion, the main street leading up to the square is thick with spectators.

As the leading groups in the procession come into view, you begin to see how it works. The participants move forward and stop, move forward and then stop again. They travel in long curves, from side to side up the road, narrowing until they are walking in file, then opening out once again, all in imitation of

This pattern only becomes apparent after watching for quite a while The procession is so long and each constituent part so different. More than 30 different groups, each representing a village, mining community or lodge take part, and most groups have their own brass band or troupe of musicians. As each section of the salamander comes to a pause in the movement, they dance or sing or play. A whole village (or so it seems) of male voices sings echoing, resonant songs. They sing and sing until the tune is taken up by the crowd and hundreds o voices are raised in unison. It is stirring stuff. And then the procession moves on and scores of miners lanterns swing and splutter into the grainy dusk.

Dancing girls, decorated horses and carts, brass bands, folk singers and dancers all pass by as the salamander winds its way up the hill. Each time a group stops to perform, another moves on. Interspersed along the line, veteran miners and their families dressed in traditional costume march raggedly, holding up the banners of their villages. A cone-shaped copper caunon mounted on a gun-carriage is hauled all the way. At intervals it is pointed at the crowd, and young lads throw firecrackers into the barrel. These explode with piercing echoes.

There is cheering and applause, singing and laughter. And everywhere, everyone is drinking, spectators and participants alike - the last few groups in the procession glassy-eyed. Yet I never once see money changing hands. This is a moment for tradition and drunken

rance to the driveway, is a great

called the muringa. In bloom it

steamed towards her home port of Southampton for the final time last week. Hundreds of passenuers returning from a Mediterranean cruise thronged the deck. During the Falklanda was the liner ferried 6,500 troops to the South Atlantic and held 3,200 Argentine prisoners of war 1000 to FARM ARABMA JERUM. Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

F dinosaurs had developed any evidence of this possibly have survived 65 million years? T WOULD depend on whether the

dinosaurs could have achieved our level of technology. The natural processes of the Earth's crust would have destroyed much evidence. Fossils survive millions of years, so perhaps artefacts made out of composite materials such as carbon ibre could survive, although buildings would have been buried.

The only sure way of leaving a trace of civilisation is to go into space. The artefacts left on the moon by the Apollo astronauts will still be there in millions of years time - if they have not been removed by future tourists. The Pioneer spacecraft, bearing messages to beings it may encounter, will still be voyaging through the stars for billions of years. — Peter Stockill, Berwick Hills, Middlesbrough

HOW long will water keep in .
the fridge before it is unfit to

IN 1984 I was on holiday in Nor-I way: I put the water left over tro my water bottle in a small jar at the back of the fridge. It was still there-13 years later, absolutely crystal clear and delightful to drink. And in Australia in 1990 I filled my bottle with rainwater. This is also crysta clear seven years later and it has not even been in the fridge. - Roger Partridge, Surbiton, Surrey

onorary citizens of the United

A MI more closely related to my mother or my brother?

Final voyage . . . After 36 years of service the cruise liner Canberra was saluted by five warships as she

THAT'S a good question for your father, - Serghei Dascatu, Duepropetrorsk, Ukraine

N TERMS of your genetic makeup, you inherit half your genes rom your mother and half from your father. The information is carried on 46 sets of chromosomes — 23 pairs — which have been split and randomly recombined to make 23 new pairs in you. This means that you are "50 per cent" related to your

Theoretically, you may share even more of your genes with your brother, due to your shared pater nal input — in identical twins it is 100 per cent. However, probability suggests that shared genetic information in typical siblings can be relatively low. This is because i is possible, for example, that you inherit the opposite half of the chromosomal pairs from your mother to those inherited by your prother. On average, about one in four siblings could claim to be "more closely related" to each other than to their mothers. - Mark

you embed a piece of copper in the trunk of a tree, does it kill the tree?

Batchelor, Crawley, Sussex

THIS may be true, especially the piece of copper is the shape and size of a big axe. — William Hamlin, Ontario, Canada

/O. Minute amounts of copper V might dissolve and pass into the sap flowing up through the trunk, but plants are quite tolerant of low concentrations -- in fact copper is actually needed by plants, as a component of some proteins essential for photosynthesis. And high concentrations of copper salts have

object may help to inhibit fungal at tack near the wound, which would usually heal with time. Of course the copper could be a problem later. if the tree is sawn for timber. - Ken lov. Warwickshire

DURING my years as a tree surgeon I came across the coppernail myth many times. Once, when cutting up the trunk of a typically vigorous poplar, I came across a ring of copper nails. Several inches inside the wood, the tree had enclosed them and carried on growing with no ill effects. - Geoff March, Stroud, Gloucestershire

WHAT are the chances of the year 2000 computer-date problem causing world-wide economic meltdown?

1010101. - Bert Hieleme. Tweed, Ontario, Canada

### Any answers?

IHAVE heard that one of the 12 tribes of Israel eventually settled in eastern Nigeria and people. Is this true? — Sebastian Uchenda, Vicenza, Italy

/ / HICH is more intelligent wy seven-month-old baby or my seven-year-old cat? - Mike McLinden, Harborne, Birmingham

HAVE just seen a spider build a web across my 4-metre garden without intervening support. How does it get the first thread started? - H Tennyson, London

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Famingdon Road, London EC1M 3HO. long been used as fungicides to The Notes & Queries website is at spray on plants. At best the copper | http://ng.guerdian.co.uk/

#### Quick crossword no. 387 Bridge Zia Mahmood

#### Across 1 "The man on the ---- omnibus"

- 8 Set in order (7) 9 Royal tomb (7) 10 (in) close partnership
- 15 Odd person (5.4)
- 18 Surpass (5) 21 Like the M25(7) 22 Stuck on the
- 23 Loosen (with driver) (7) 24 Mini-clinic or treatment room

bottom (7)

- Down
- grains) (8) 15 Sufficient number 1 Dried coconut present (6) 2 Month (5) 16 Adom with 3 Senjor minister
- raised design (6) 17 Relations by 4 Crazy fellow (6) marriage (2-4) 19 Digit (5) 5 Principal see (13) 20 Strangely 6 Extra performance (6) (enough) (5)
- 7 Against (6) Last week's solution
- down his newspaper with a sigh. "I assume, Watson," he said, "that you are not referring to any of our little 12,14 M (old
- so lamentable a disregard for logical precision. Instead, you have been reading the bridge column in this week's Guardian Weekly, and are pronoun, and TOOKONESLEAVE
  ESUPPAAAVE
  EXTRACTEOOST
  GOLOTOOTTA
  BAAD VNBURDEN
  EOOPOGREGO
  EDWARD VESSEL
  TOWNITZERFUND
  OOABE MASA
  VEGANGIMPULSE
  EOOCESELEOVY
  NONSENSEVERSE
  - g, nomesi i in "How could you possibly tell that I wanted to talk about the bridge "Your copy of the Guardian Weekly is open at the Leisure page, observed Holmes sarcastically, "and since you are incapable of holding more than one thought in your head for any length of time, it is

S THERE always a clue?" I asked. Sherlock Holmes put

adventures that you chronicled wit

surely obvious that the subject of your discourse would be that which had most recently occupied your "What is your opinion of this Mahmood, the author?" I inquired. "The second least dangerous player in London," replied Holmes dismissively, "But in answer to your earlier question, it is indeed the

case that very few situations at the

bridge table furnish no clues at all to the inquiring mind.

"Take the following deal, which | as declarer's - who has the quet appeared in a recent international trial, and see If you can do better than the many declarers who failed

- ♥Q62 **◆**AJ962
- ♦ AQJ97652 **★** K 10 4

"South is declarer in six dia monds, and since one can often obtain clues from the bidding - or lack of it - this was the auction at one table:

North East Pass 1NT Pass

"I can't see anything in the bidding to guide me," I said. "West did not open, and East did not overcall, but I don't really see how that helps. I would play out a few more round of trumps, in the hope that the dis

"My dear Watson," said Holmes,
"I said that this was an international
"I had that the was an international that the defenders, seeing that club suit on the table, are hardy likely to throw away other than unhelpful major suit cards. Of course, there may be a genuine squeeze one kind or another, but there really is no need for such refinement You have all the information at your disposal, if only you would use your powers of reason."

When I continued to look bailed, Holmes explained, "Consider Fasts. decision to switch to a trump of the Pass 1NT Pass

Pass 4 Pass

Whereas East my

ANT Pass 5 Double

Pass Pass Pass

Pass Pass Pass

ANT was simple Blackwood, and in response to East's double of the conventional response. West led the ten of hearts, East won with the ace and returned a trump, West without the guarded queen p following. Your problem is the same of heart's conventional response with the ace and returned a trump. West without the guarded queen p following. Your problem is the same own hand?

### A Country Diary

Cothral Gogan

LAMBU, KENYA: The old A settler's home crowns the rising ranks of blossoming coffee. It is large and single storey and from a distance seems lost in a jungle of jaca randa trees in bloom. Their lilac blossoms carpet the bedraggled remains of a beautiful garden; struggling with weeds and

Jacaranda are see-through and do not get in the way of the view from the house, over miles and miles of coffee, rising gently to the Mus Hills in the far distance. Kilima Mbogo, the hill of the Buffalo, stands up with its distinctive high, humped shape. The Aberdares command like a great castle to the northwest, and if you are lucky you may dimpse the beautiful but elusive Mount Kenya. Its equatorial snow never disappears. Nearer to hand, at the en-

came to mourn his home, buried Remarkably, his offspring exthe tangle of blossoms, they

chapel he built.

becomes a mass of white, bubblelike blossoms. It was under this tree that the displaced Kikuyu owner

under swathes of coffee trees. press no regrets. More than the sweeping valley of greenery or value the hard, brown beans. No one here speaks ill of the departed settler. Anyone can buy shares in the coffee he bequeathed, or draw water from his water-channel, or pray in the

As usual, both berry and blossom vie for attention. Women, exploited now as then, are already lining up to pick the reddening herry, while the white, scented blossom gives promise of another generous harvest.

A PART from Mother Tereso; who were the other four

/INSTON CHURCHILL. the V V Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg; and William and Hannah Penn, founders of Pennsylvania, -Duke Morgan, London



ART/PHOTOGRAPHY Adrian Searle

**MAMES ENSOR**, of Ostend, was the oddest of artists.

Born in 1860, the son of an English father and a Belgian mother. Ensor progressed from the reviled to the revered. Ensor the fool, Ensor the "Mule-ish Englishman", became Baron of Belgium, Knight of the Order of Leopold and annointed with the sobriquet Prince of Painters.

In his youth he espoused anarchist, socialist, anti-monarchist ideals. As a grand old man he dined with Albert Einstein, received reverential visits from Emile Noide and Wassily Kandinsky, and was honoured by Belgian royalty. His drawings were bought by the Albertina in Vienna at the height of the second world war. A major retrospective of his work was held at the National Gallery in London in 1946, three years before he died.

The Barbican Art Gallery in London has mounted the first large-scale exhibition of Ensor's work in Britain since that National Gallery show.

Nowadays, Ensor is remembered in this country for his Entry Of Christ Into Brussels In 1899, a vast, burlesque carnival painting now in the Getty Museum. Christ, of course, is Ensor himself, envisioning himself being swept along by the crowd on his triumphal entry into the Beigian capital. Down in the bottom right-hand corner of the multitudinous, carnival scene, the

Marquis de Sade looks benignly on. Ensor's scademic training was conventional enough, and the work from the early 1880s, which begins the Barbican exhibition - thicklypainted Brussels in buttery sunshine, claustrophobic bourgeois interiors - are all a bit off-putting. But he was, at the same time, painting luminous seascapes in the manner of Turner, making beautiful drawings and beginning to tip over into the inystical and into a world of all the copies of the print he could demons and madness.



bloody knives, and idiot violences, Ensor looks forward to Philip Guston (and to the best of LS Lowry) as

much as he looked back at Gillray. But much of Ensor's best-loved work - his Pierrots, carnival masked clowns and demons -- I find irritating and dull. Perhaps it isn't his fault: his inventions have become stock characters from the "strip away the skin of reality to reveal the festering sores beneath" school of heavy symbolic expres-

OWEVER, Ensor's grim, cartoonish works — the Assassination, from 1890, the Good Judges - from the following year, and the Bad Doctors from the year after that, are the real stuff of nightmare. The rest strives too much, and his world comes to feel less and less real, too strained and artificial, and a little bit smug. Compared to Goya's Black Paintings, for example, Ensor's sweating, flabby, all-singing, all-dancing grotesquerie seems trite

The Barbican has juxtaposed



McCullin's victims of war (above)

Ensor with a retrospective of the photographer Don McCullin. Whether or not these photographs are "art" (who cares? - his best work begs no equivocation) is of less import than the things he has seen and photographed. The exhibition traces McCullin's career as a hotojournalist from his first published shot - of young hoodlums in Finsbury Park in 1959 — through war zones and famines, from sectarian violence in Cyprus and Derry, to penis-gourd waving tribesmen in Inlonenia and lowering clouds over

West Country fields. Halfway through my second round of McCullin's show, I put my notebook away. What is the point, ! thought, in redescribing what his eye has seen, his camera recorded. It is difficult to do more than enumerate. A mentally ill derelict yelling in Spitalfields. Happy transvestites in Southend. A Congolese civilian dead by a roadside, his face split open revealing his crushed skull. Starving Binfrans. A Sudanese boy, press-ganged into the army. Blank-eyed Gis. The dead and the

butchered, the shell-shocked to eviscerated, the bloated deal D. traught mothers, victims appearsors, more victims. Every on 1 victim, one way or another. Oh 6/ McCullin has seen too much by we've seen it, too. The difference

Some of the horror was doors nome, perhaps more prest, is if overtly violent, more lowkey.

te was there.

Squalor and poverty is less as clyamic than war; hunger le shocking than absolute family lipalm and machete attacks way than rubber bullets, car bombs, 22 bricks. But the atmosphere McCullin's photographs is to same. The same darkness, the same starkness, the same brooding on

feel to things.

The cumulative effect of M.
Cullin's exhibition is one of incre ing distress. It is partly a inarticulate distress at one's or numbness in the face of the me strous. We end up mouthing pt tudes about man's inhument man, but the problem is none of t is monstrous at all, or inhume it all too human. We endure these ages, and go on looking.

The upper gallery at the Barics is a solemn place to be with the photographs. Looking over to parapet, down at the Eusers in gallery below, I was struck by the comparative banality. Their on: felt like an affront.

Ensor — the stuff of mic mares? Did I write that? After! Cullin's photographs they seem to be part of an irrelevanc. tural game. But in the end, sa things are all we have to kep. from the edge.

There is respite. McColl photographs of elephants bathin: the river in India, a religious les on a beach in Bali, his landson and still lifes, come at the end of allow as some kind of pallative. landscapes turn grimness into no mospheric chiaroscuro. His r lifes - flowers and fruit and bits of sculpture - are readers a pewter light. But as much si camera takes them in, they se the product of an eye brooding massacres, corpses, mutilation

Fish and VIPs

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

> **■** ENNIFER PATERSON and Clarissa Dickson Wright make the prospect of being overweight and over the hill posilively enticing. You can, for instance, throw your weight about, and (judging by the sound of song and laughter) some sort of perpetual party seems to be going on on the other side of the hill.

It is the sign of a dedicated party goer when the doorman at the Dorchester ("A very good watering hole") greets you like an old friend By the simple act of breathing Paterson seems to exhibit the join de vivre which comes to most of us only after several large pink gins. I first encountered her on Food

reminded of any bit of a violet. And Drink when she roared up on a motorbike, festooned in random scarves like Isadora Duncan (or, perhaps, not very like). It was

neither, "feed" might be more ap-propriate. Jennifer was describing how to soak salt cod. "It is very handy if you happen to have a running stream coming through the kitchen like they do in the monas-teries in Portugal," "What," asked pumpkin harvest time. Pumpkins were piled up into a pumpkin moun-tain brighter than a thousand suns. Their colours were autumnal, their Clarissa, "if you don't have a runwaistlines laughable, they all ning stream?" "You leave a tap ciripseemed to have taken a deep breath ping, which the Water Board won't like, but to hell with then." It was and gone red in the face. She dominated this exuberance effortlessly quite a while before you wondered like a dangerously unpredictable fairy godmother. You felt she might what Jennifer was doing in a Portuguese monastery. at any minute turn the whole boiling

The filmsy excuse for their dou lot into a convoy of London buses. ble act was the Brazilian ambas-The fickle finger of fame has sador's cocktail party. apped Jennifer and Clarissa on the ambassador's parties, of course, are shoulder when they least expected known for their exquisite taste. This it. Television celebrity doesn't suit time, as Jennifer and Clarissa were everyone, Dandy Nichols, a bit of a doing the cooking, he got cod balls. violet at heart, was quite wounder On arrival, Jennifer tried out her when people used to shout "Silly

creaking Portuguese. "I think I said we were the two fat ladies for the ambassadress. I might have said we're the two fat tarts for the ambassador." The ambassador's wife escorted them, with undue haste thought, to the bowels of the

straight man but, as she is so clearly They discussed how to pin down

a man at a cocktail party. Jennifer said: "I've noticed these lovely girls pitch their voice very low like this. The man has to get nearer and nearer. It always works, I say 'HELLO, DEARS!' and I don't get off with anybody." After a while pans stopped rattling and no more crockery fell off the shelves.

body will come up and talk to you. And you say [she adopted the look of a dying duck in a thunderstorm; 'I don't think Louis Quinze dates, really, It's beyond fashion.' Then they get very bored and go away." She threw a spent match over her shoulder in a manner which reminded you strongly of Henry VIII.

party, slim women with sparkling cars nibbled fishy bits. Jennifer and Clarissa were on the balcony like love locked out. Undeflated, Jennifer sang a spirited rendition of Brazil. They are, as Jennifer said about devils on horseback, "a substantial and rich but very tasty

Passion amid

Clarissa said: "I go off and look interestingly at some picture or piece of furniture, Invariably some-

At the ambassador's cocktail

## scholarship Michael Billington

A /HY A E Housman? Why V should Tom Stoppard have chosen him as the subject of his new play, The Invention Of Love, running at London's Cottesloe Theatre? Because it gives Stoppard the chance to meditate on scholarship and poetry, goodness and beauty, home and hetero, Ruskin and Pater, Housman and Wilde, and a whole host of other subjects beside. Whatever the play may lack, it is certainly not raw material.

In fact, the play is one of Stoppard's juiciest. Like Frayesties it deals with the nature of memory, as the dead Housman looks back on his younger self, and with the coincidences of history. Like Arcadia, it is also preoccupied with the quality of passion, the random nature of literary survival and the idea of life as a route march leading inexorably to the grave. It is weighed down with too much scholarship, but it attempts to combine the pyrotechnic dazzle of early Stoppard with he later mellowness.

For my taste, it is crammed with too much detail. He not only recaptures the young Housman's passion for his Oxford contemporary, Moses lackson, but also the quips and juiddities of dons of the time. But the play really takes wing when the dead AEH confronts the young Housman.

Stoppard always writes best when he writes from the heart; and here he gives the older man a deeply moving defence of lessical scholarship. But also, Stoppard dwells on the lottery of literary survival and on the ower of passion.

For the other big theme that runs through the play is that feeling is defined by intensity rather than vociferousness. Housman's passion for Jackson was internalised, unconsummated and the oblique source of much of the poetry. But Stoppard's point is that it was just as real as Wilde's more flamboyant nfatuation with Bosie. In that sense, the play is an unfashionable anti-Freudian work that hymns the validity of sexual repression and of a closeted love.

What is intriguing is that it offers Stoppard at his best and worst. The Latin learning is laid on with a trowel. At the same time, the jokes are very good mobiles. Operating on behalf of the and Stoppard writes with palpa-CIA and the Russian FSB ("the new, ble love about a poet fired by the ble love about a poet fired by the idea of textual integrity who knew the value of Platonic love.

Richard Eyre, in his last production as the National's director, serves the text with his usual exemplary loyalty. I also liked Anthony Ward's backprojections. And at the heart of the play lies the formidal pairing of John Wood and Paul Rhys as the dead and the living Housman, John Carlisle, Benjamin Whitrow and Michael Bryant lend weight to a supporting cast in an evening that reminds us that Stoppard, for all his cerebral qualities, is at his best when he endorses private passion.

# up a lava

Richard Williams

HE handful of really good the ground is always moving under he characters' feet. No such sub-

wards like champagne corks.

where to use unbroken are cal smile as two female geologists deliver a crash or the more

Mick Jackson, the TV-trained deals with man's inclination to sin in British director, experienced a Hollywood disaster of his own earlier in the decade with LA Story, a catastrophically self-satisfied comedy starring Steve Martin. His commercial credibility was re-established with The Bodyguard, but the devastation visited on some of the city's prime real estate and most famous andmarks during the course of Volcano may be seen as \$70 million

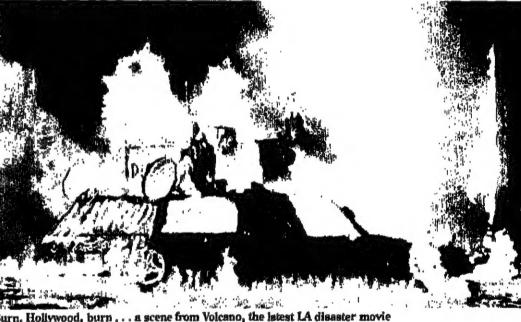
films about post-war Los Angeles, from in A Lonely ace through Chinatown to Inter-Affairs, use an underlying awareness of the city's geological instability as a metaphor for a general moral uncertainty. From Malibu's slide area to the San Andreas Fault, lextual richness bothers the makers Volcano, a disaster movie that settles for a one-dimensional view of the most significant city of our time

But movies like this cannot exist without a new angle on urban catastrophe. And when the tectonic plates start shifting beneath MacArthur Park, something unexpected happens. Instead of toppling tall buildings, the disturbance en-courages a river of molten lava to pour through the fissure. It finds an utlet in the newly excavated subway, generating heat that fries unfortunate tunnel workers to a crisp and creating enough pressure to send manhole covers pinging sky-

genial aneer. "Here in LA?"

worth of revenge for the failure of his first attempt at local colour.

Most of the budget goes into various forms of destruction, Office blocks and art galleries explode. Serves use their air filters are I rides chaotic plotting, minimal char- sudience winded with laughter.



Burn, Hollywood, burn . . . a scene from Volcano, the latest LA disaster movie

trees collapse in showers of sparks, the La Brea tar pits boil over, mannequins in a bridal shop window meet a fiery death, and an all-terrain vehicle melts helplessly in the devouring tide.

mool" after her in the street. You

would be looking at Jennifer Pater-

They are now on their second s

I would say that Clarissa was the

ries of Two Fat Ladies (BBC2).

son for some time before you wer

"All hell is breaking loose," someone shouts as the screen shudders with the percussive roar of the earthquake and the orange river flows. But the moral lessons go largely unexplored, except when the lava passes the front door of the Los Angeles County Museum of Into the breach leaps Mike Roark | Art, where a banner advertises an of the Office of Emergency Man- exhibition devoted to a great Dutch he's heavy." a fireman remarks as he staggers away from the building, deliver a crash-course in basic seis- carrying a painting in its gilt frame. mology, "Lava?" he responds with a "That", a colleague gasps as they try to outrace the lava, "Is because he

> deflance of God's will." Otherwise Jerome Armstrong's script relies on topical references and local gags to provide relief from the relentless schematics. Oh, great — Mark Fuhrman, says a black man; arrested by a shavenheaded white cop. The lights are out in San Francisco," someone asys in the emergency control centre, earning the instant rebuke: Who gives a shit about San Frandisco?" When white volcanic ash starts to drift down, a policeman observes that cars are stalling on the

fireballs streak across the sky, palm | clogging. "Chevettes, right?" another cop mutters. Jones, as the only name actor,

> has to carry an enormous weight. But the fact that the role makes no demands on his talent, beyond the burden of trying to make various absurd stunts look remotely believable, doesn't seem to bother him, which leads even an admirer to suspect that he might be in danger of taking dispassionate professional ism — of the sort espoused by the late Robert Mitchum — too far. One difference is that when Mitchum could find no depth in a part, he let us see a bit of himself instead. Jones seems to lack that inner resource. And, like Harrison Ford, he is too ready a victim of Hollywood's distaste for substance.

But it has to be admitted that, in terms of a Saturday night at the movies, little can hold back the unstoppable momentum of modern Hollywood values.

OODNESS knows what Hong Kong's new rulers are making of Jackie Chan's First Strike, the latest instalment of the stuntman-superstar's Police Story series, laid out by the director, Stanley Tong, on a template formed from handy bits of old James Bond movies.

Chan, who looks like the missing Osmond brother but moves like. Bruce Lee, has a charm that over-

to such an extent that people normally averse to anything involving spies or martial arts may find themselves giggling at the ingenious antics of a hero who refuses to take himself seriously. First Strike rattles along at a decent lick, incorporating a couple of miraculous action sequences that justify what appears to be a sublime indifference to its own

echnical shortcomings. Chan's mission, fashionably enough, is to retrieve a stolen nuclear warhead hidden somewhere in the Ukraine, before moving off to a mountain setting which provides an immediate excuse for chase sequences involving skis and Snowimproved KGB"), he follows the warhead to Australia, where he confronts two favourite species of Bond opponents, sharks and glant ginger-haired Russian killers, and indulges in the hallowed pastime of landing a sports car on the deck of a pleasure boat. Any doubts about his pretensions are removed when he drops his trousers to reveal a pair of koala-

bear underpants. All his qualities of wit and agility are brought together in a brilliantly choreographed warehouse, fight. Whirling a builder's ladder around his head, he displays a balletic speed and definess, and a broad, self-mocking humour that leaves his

### Pop with snap and crackle

#### **OBITUARY**

Roy Lichtenstein

ITIS difficult to think of Roy Lightenstein, who has died of pneumo nia at the age of 73, as other than a man of the 1960s, one of the brightest stars of the American Pop Art movement which shot to fame and notoriety in New York in 1961-62.

By the end of the sixtles exhibi tions on both sides of the Atlantic were already memorialising Pop Art as though to write finis under it all. with gratitude, but also a lot of arthistorical nit-picking. Though almost all of the stars on what was by then a truly international firmament have gone on twinkling, the movement as such had reached something akin to middle age, which in this context means senility. In any case, there was a new movement to come to grips with. Conceptual Art. much less fun and rarely as brilliant

Initially, there was none of the sudden, widespread enthusiasm for Pon Art in New York that we had in London. One of the big Issues was whether doing paintings from advertising and from comic strips could possibly deserve the name of art.

Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol did not know each other when they both began to work with these sources. Lichtenstein had been exploring the use of Disney creatures in semi-abstract paintings and then also those much coarser images, small black-line newspaper advertisements for common goods such

At his best, Ensor is an alarming and frightening caricaturist, a welrd

mix of the 18th century satirist, the

Sadean and the Blakean visionary

Sometimes, he is like Hieronymu

Bosch redone as saucy seaside-post-

card burlesque. As much as he

looked inward for his inspiration, he

looked to England: to the 19th cen-

tury masters of English landscape,

and to the savage, earthy wit of Gill

ray, Rowlandson and Hogarth. He

painted and drew flerce scatologies,

snivelling advocates and evil judges,

top-hatted, syringe-toting doctors, garlanded with their expiring pa-

tienta' entrails. He lampooned the Catholic Church, the judiciary, the

military, the politicians, the bour-

In one of his most bitter etchings,

Doctrinal Punishment, from 1889, a

soldier, a nun, a bishop, a magis-

trate and King Leopold XI sit in a

line, defecating into the open

mouths of the populace below.

Ensor later tried to suppress this

coprophagic nightmare, buying up

geolsie, the state.

as sofas and golf balls. In any case, this had all been part stein was born into a solid middleclass New York family. Painting was something of a hobby for teenaged Roy, but so was jazz, and he combined them in portraits of musicians. A summer school at the Art Students' League found him paint-ing Bowery and Coney Island scenes under the tutelage of Regi-

nald Marsh, himself a major New York social realist. From this he went on to the School of Fine Arts at Ohio State University where he found himself fascinated by lectures on the psy-

chology of vision and representation. Stylistically he moved between semi-abstract work in various Cubist manners and his personal version of Abstract Expressionism. He worked for some years as an engineering draftsman and then also The comic-strip paintings stood newsprint by painting through per- 27, 1923; died September 2

briefly as a graphic artist while having almost annual one-man shows in New York, marrying and becoming a father. In 1960 he was appointed professor of Rutgers University, where he met Alan Kaprow, the recent initiator of Happenings reflecting on consumer culture, and got nvolved with Kaprow's circle of collaborators, including Claes Oldenburg and Jim Dine.

In 1961, he painted his first Pop paintings. His own 1962 show at Leo Castelli's Gallery in New York made the first museum exhibition to focus out, and I still think of them as his | forated steel, but he kneed on The New Paintings of Common Objects at the Pasadena Art Museum the same year.

I met him shortly after the Venice man who struck me as surprisingly un-vivid. He was shy, hesitantly friendly, thoughtful but not full of ready ideas and convictions. Other American artists I had met had been more up-front, physically sometimes, in their assertions. This experience was reinforced in 1968 when a comprehensive Lichtenstein exhibition was shown at the Tate Gallery in London. I have rarely enjoyed and admired a one-man exhi-bition as much. It had all the intelligence and energy I had hoped

to find in the man.

most brilliant work. Seeing them in the flesh was, of course, the essential thing. Pictures that are themselves more or less reproductions Biennale of 1966 and recall vividly a do not reproduce well. Here were frames and cropped images from comic strips translated into large paintings, coarse printing of akilfully but quickly drawn and coloured narrative scenes subtly redesigned and redrawn to become modern history paintings. War and peace, romantic bliss and romantic pain - scenes at once ordinary and irresistible: firm and clear, as though they were stills from a film directed by Hiroshige, the great Japanese printmaker. Lichtenstein's technique was perfect for his purposes. He had found a way of imitating the dots of

Lichtenstein's celebrated diptytch, Whaam!

give to the thoughts and cles rise as balloons from warries! lovers. The Tate Gallery made the liant choice in acquiring his p diptych Whaaml, a Pop esto si juxtaposing of seeing with wist being seen.
There was always somebing from Lichtenstein to be see evaluated. But the excitence joy, dropped as he moved has 50s and 60s, even though the never any loss of skill and later

Norbert Lynton

Roy Lichtenstein, enist, born

tual os well as visual brighing

**Quy Evans** 

Companero: The Life and Death

N CARACAS at the end of his mo-

Americas, the young Che Guevara met an old freedom fighter.

You," the old man warned, "will die

with your fist clenched and your jaw

tense, the perfect manifestation of

And so it turned out, Fifteen

torcycle journey around the

of Che Guevara by Jorge Castañeda Bloomsbury 444pp £20

hatred and struggle."

. . . four thumbs a masterpiece? **Stuart Jeffries** on how postmodernism has led to the death of serious criticism

or point in, reading lengthy ap-praisals of a work of art. What we need instead is a really good graphic of a thumb. The designers could come up with something very attractive. The critic's role would be reduced to coming back from the show, holding up a thumb or pointing it downwards. This would be converted into graphic form and appear on the arts page next to the title of the film, play or recital. What we don't need any more is the subspecies of journalist that goes out of the office to see something and tries to explain why it gives pleasure

newspapers, this philistine revolution has already taken place: the American film critics Siskel and Ebert, for example, have only one mode of approval, which litters the advertisements in the New York Times each Sunday. "Two thumbs up!" is their praise: it represents not criticism as we have known it, but grunting, which we hoped we had evolved beyond.

Once we had William Hazlitt and Joseph Addison; soon we will have journalists who go to plays and write about how they met the lead backstage. The reasons critics give for liking or loathing works of art are increasingly seen as irrelevant. Worse, the range of reactions they offer when they evaluate some work of art or cultural product have shrunken to two poles: good or bad. Criticism is offered less and less scope for what was seen, at least in Britain, as its fundamental purpose

- eloquent discrimination.
The American philosopher Nelвол Goodman опсе wrote a paper about the overvaluation of value. He believed that the incessant ranking of works of art was inimical to understanding the things that are being ranked, as the critic becomes chiefly a person who says yes or no, rather than one who helps us to understand why.

Two things seem to have happened. First, the reader's attention span has shrunk, whatever the sub- | changes or refines your interject; or, if not that, it has shrunk

to what's on.

there is a trend

aesthetic appreciation just another | ence, then the growing current for form of shopping. No wonder, then, that in some papers, restaurants are assessed next to ballet performances; that a review of Hiroshige can appear near to a neurotic assessment of budget sunglasses. The artistic over-production, but it canpresumption behind the juxtaposition is that what readers really want to know is whether something is worth paying to see, hear, digest or | this deformation of newspaper criti- | this picture is that it remains unutown. Aesthetics is just a minor | cism? As Gilbert Adair notes in the | terably funless," adding, culpably: "I' | that governs much journalism, and branch of economics, great art just another spending opportunity.

themselves more readily to this loomed very prominently in the his intellectual duty, endemic to confrom the rest of society, to waste collapse into something form of commodification. CDs, be tory of either art or ideas. "Yet they temporary criticism. And he has a one's life watching rubbish and not they The Prodigy's latest or Schuare, after all, the guardians of the point: But while there are problems care that one is doing so.

Today there is no time for, and can increasingly be evaluated in similar ways. A performance by the Kirov Ballet, by contrast, is a fleet ing, singular thing that, tradition suggests, can only be caught in the butterfly net of the critic's thought. It is not, nor never will be, confused with a fridge.

mance is live or recorded that determines whether a critical evaluation can be reduced to a graphic thumb Popular art forms, such as film or pop gigs, surrender themselves more readily to this attenuated assessment; more slowly does the shadow of the thumb creep over theatre or painting. Perhaps be-With certain critics, and certain | cause books were among the first aesthetic products to be critically evaluated, lit-crit has acquired both a history and a snobbery. So books resist being reduced to commodities, even though they are consumer durables as much as fridges or CDs, and appear in reviews with their prices attached.

Newspaper criticism is not a monolithic entity: television drama is not reviewed in the same way as live drama, for instance; nor is it reviewed at the same time. TV reviews appear the morning after the broadcast; the latest art show at the Tate is generally reviewed before it opens. (Of all forms of newspaper criticism, TV reviewing is the most bizarre: television is a medium rather than an art form, and yet the way in which it is consumed can serve to flatten the differences between the different kinds of programme - drama, documentary news, etc -- that one is watching.)

What is in the process of dying or at least being marginalised into irrelevance - is the notion that the critic should affect the way you experience a work of art. Thus, the British philosopher Malcolm Budd. in his book Values Of Art: writes: "Criticism, in its attempt to establish a work's artistic value, will draw at tention to the aesthetic and also the non-aesthetic characteristics upon which its value depends, Since convincing criticism

where criticism is concerned; or, if I are aware of in it, and since these not that, newspapers and magazines | are integral to the way you experi-

Hence the pro Aesthetics is just a minor a change of ingraphicled, at-branch of economics, in experience." great art just another more important, spending opportunity convincing crit-

at best, helping work of art to a commodity, to make | the reader to a more rich experivolves merely suggesting that a appals Adair. work is, or is not, worth experiencing. This may be understandable in an age of information overload and artistic over-production, but it can-not be the only question the critic Yorker. Assessing the merits of the ahould address.

But why should we worry about introduction to his new collection of Some aesthetic products lend workaday reviewers have never nal disarray, the defection of be in a privileged position, cut off lit and so argue against critical duty. endemic to con-

It is not just whether a perfor-

pretation of a work, and what you ence the work.

living culture; it is to them, at the very least, that the task of keeping that culture greased has historically been assigned . . . The health and Budd is no | in the hands of hacks ... " If this is | doubt right. If | true, it cannot be enough for the hacks to be merely hysterical hyperbolists, championing rubbish and becoming the obliging publicists of works of art they truly despise. Criticism is at its worst when it is riven reductive, philistine criticism in by bad faith. To his credit, this trend

> But Adair is equally concerned about the undervaluation of value. He cites a review by the noted film Pamela Anderson film Barb Wire, Lane wrote: "The true sadness of

But one result of postmodernism is a refusal to engage with the work critically (except, chiefly, as a source of jokes). In its stead comes a pose of affectlessness, that nothing could move this critic to revulsion or adoration. It's the cynicism don't mind that it's rubbish." Adair thus is as hierarchical as the style of

with criticism, Adair misdiagnoses

Lane's remark is not simpleminded but, rather, witting cynihence the future of our culture rests | cism. It is an example of the late, stale fruit of postmodernism: value, in the postmodernist project, was to | cover value. Some speakers say be abolished, or at least shoved into the loss of value a response with the critical unconscious, partly as a reaction to the perceived conservatism of distinctions between high and low culture. Postmodernism thus became celebrated as liberating, democraticising. At least, that was the theory.

vailing mood is either affective a hyperbolic. In the latter case, a exceptionally is praise not iront But none of these responses good enough. Art isn't like tide It should give us higher pleasure including those that enable is to be

Lane also represents ander worrying trend; that talk about mi (or at least Pamela Anderson film) is more interesting, and more to found, than the subject of that the In an earlier collection, The Post modernist Always Rings Twee Adair distinguished between atai

culture - the former was the thin itself, the latter the much more penling business of chatting about it. In traditional aesthetics, there's what is known as the acquaintage principle, which amounts to be seemingly minimal requirement that one should have experienced work of art before one is compare to judge its merits. What Adar seemed to have detected is not losgrade criticism but chat about of tural products that often is based on

bloc in English society, which de

fined the limits of the effectively

sayable." Outside the sayable were

the rest of us, effectively allened by the hierarchy of value. This

surely, extends to how pop music

and film have been received: pope-

lar culture, for want of a being

term, was laughed into silence, vist:

tracts of aesthetic experience wo

also, in terms of how it has been m

nipulated, be regarded as the home

of valuelessness, affectlessness 🚾

cynicism. The Addisonian elite is

been replaced by an even less we

thy ruling blue of self-regarding writers who, swollen with pride mi

freebies, do not deign to do the he

One of the results of this corn

tion was a conference at London

Institute of Contemporary Arts in

1990, in which a clutch of andors postmodernists attempted to refer

ugliness of our times; others, a last

of hope or (which is the same think)

critical sense - another voice of

privilege, another tyranny. What he

become all but unsayable now that a work of art is moving: the pr

est work of critical evaluation.

nonneed unworthy of attention.

years later, the young man who second-hand opinion. wrote "I see myself being sacrificed While Barb Wire is us to the authentic revolution" would doubtedly "unuiterall; funless", chat about it can be executed in a small, squalid classroom in La Higuera, Bolivia. As photographs were taken to prove be fun, even rewarding that the commandante was dead, a not least because it is the province of self-regarding. handkerchief was wrapped around his jaw to cover up the disfigureself-reflexive chatterers mafia of cultural writers who ment of death. Later, his hands write for themselves E ' were cut off. By that time, in 1968. ther way, though, this. Guevara was a legend, and his iconic status makes it a tricky job culture abjures that dd thing, criticism. for any biographer to disentangle

Perhaps there was: the man from the myth. Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was some justification for a born into an Argentine blue-blood postmodern attack a: the conservative canno family on June 14, 1928. He was a of art and the elitim of sickly child and, aged two, suffered much criticism. Terry Eagle his first asthma attack, a complain ton, in The Function Of Critthat was to plague him his whole cism, wrote of the birth of modern criticism in England life, and was perhaps, as Castañeda outlines, a powerful influence on his that led to, among other joucharacter. To compensate, the young Guevara developed extraormagazine: "The ferocious condinary strength of will. In a letter to his parents years later, he would tentions of essayists and panphleteers took place within the write: "A willpower that I have polgradual crystallisation of an in-creasingly self-confident ruling ished with an artist's care will carry

my weak legs and tired lungs." Even more intriguing is the sugrestion that Guevara may have een literally an adrenalin junkie. Adrenalin prevents asthma attacks, in explanation perhaps of why the guerrilla leader would be less ill in the heat of a campaign. He only sur-vived the messy Bolivlan expedition through regular injections of Novocaine. All this, thinks Castañeda, added to Guevara's hatred of waver-But if postmodernism can ke seen as an egalitarian project, it can ing and inaction, which is associated with sickness. The solution?

"To flee contradiction." The final piece of the puzzle in the making of a revolutionary fell here, the story is familiar, the triinto place in his early 20s. As a boy, uevara had a map of Spain on his ary 1959, his extraordinary

no. I say sadly because there is a good book to be written about the importance of basketball to black courtside seats at Madison Square American culture, in particular the Garden from where Lee and his felonly hope of escape from the mis- watch the Knicks. Lee makes strenery of the ghetto for many young | uous (and, frankly, embarrassing) mercy for which we can all be grateful. Would the world really be a happier place if Jimmy Tarbuck's My

Lifetime On The Mining — a small be grateful. Would the world really be a happier place if Jimmy Tarbuck's My

Lifetime On The Mining — a small be grateful. Unfortunately for efforts to connect with the "ordinary" fan but can't escape the fact was written in 1976 by Rick that he is a rich man writing about Lifetime On The Links ever saw the light of day? Or David Mellor's fully written Heaven Is A Play- It is an immutable rule of sportsgritty insight into modern-day foot- ground charted a year in the lives of

nometown team, the New York knicks.

The answer in Lee's case, sadly, is

Best Seat In The House fails for many reasons, but mostly precisely because it is written from the best sent in the house, the \$1,000-a-pop disgraceful fact that even in 1997 low celebrities - Woody Allen and the game represents just about the John McEnroe to name but two -

> writing that the best books are written from, or about, the underbelly, where the pulse of the game and its

could have been written by the lowliest sports reporter. More successful is Lee's encounter with Woody Allen, when I say that you will become pasketball scene he cut from Annie pitted against a team of intellectuals "Klerkegaard, Nietzsche, myself . . people who couldn't do anything until they had thought it to cleath. (BFI Modern Classics, £7.99)

Everything had to be debated").

Allen is a Knicks fan of even tistics and the worries of millionaire sports fans. "I'm paying six hundred bucks for four seats," says Allen at but you're silting right there." "But still, you've got great seats also." It Not with them, but at them.

**Paperbacks** 

Nicholas Lezard

The inferno of Dante, tre Robert Pinsky (Dent, £12.99)

#T IS nice to see that people are still making an effort at translat ing the immortal Dante; and that the efforts seem to be getting better. Pinsky's is very good indeed, and the confidence that allows this to be a parallel text is not misplaced. I'm not sure that this is the best translation I've seen - that honour goes, in my book, to Allen Mandel-baum, who did the entire Commedia for Everyman; but then Mandelbaum doesn't quite manage to reproduce the rhyme scheme as faithfully as Pinsky, It's swings and roundabouts, really, Get both, Or learn Renaissance Tuscan, It's not that hard, honest.

Selected Letters, by Gustave Flaubert, trs and int Geoffrey Wall (Penguin, £9.99)

SINCE somebody at Faber de-cided, some years ago, to let their two-volume edition of Francis Steegmuller's translation go out of print, this less comprehensive selec tion will have to do. It's not bad, though, and if some of the phrases are more slangy than Steegmuller's Harvard-endorsed versions, Wall's at least read fluently. It's terrific stuff. At the age of 30, he wrote, " am about to join the ranks of the men that whores wince at, when it comes to shagging." He also wrote much more salubrious letters to his mum. I wonder if he ever got the envelopes mixed up.

In October, he was captured and executed. Within months, his image, The Ultimate Insult, compiled by Maria Leach famously captured by Korda — eyes (Michael O'Mara, £5.99) fixed on a distant horizon, hair blowing, head erect - was seen at

A RATHER cheaply and defiantly unscholarly collection of slag-offs including real corkers. H L Columbia sit-ins and held aloft in Prague to exorcise the tanks from the streets. Guevara was the last Mencken: "Perhaps the most revoltgasp of the revolutionary ideal as an ing character that the United States act of sheer will - the perfect icon for a generation whose slogan was ever produced was the Christian businessman." Anon: "When Jimmy now". Casteneda's verdict is that Carter gave a fireside chat, the fire went out." Norm Van Brocklin: "If I ever needed a brain transplant, I'd choose a sportswriter because I'd want a brain that had never been

> Edward de Bono's Textbook of Wisdom (Penguin, £7.99)

HIS book contains some of the most mindless rubbish I've ever been privileged to hear from an dult. (If they'd called it "De Bono's Textbook of Risible Platitudes", that would have been fine.) I won't quote any because cleaning vomit from computer keyboards is nasty, timeconsuming work. Just trust me where his fellow director recalls a wiser if you gently smear your nose against any section of this news-Hall in which the Knicks side were | paper - adverts included. No correspondence, please.

The Exorcist, by Mark Kermode

THE continued ban on video re-lease of the film means that we should still be scared by it. We might find it laughable these days. But personally, I doubt it - even looking at the stills in this book gives me the willies. It's nice to have the mythology behind the film explained: how they managed the levitations, the revolving head, the subliminal frames. Funny to think that the possessed child's mother was based on Shirley MacLaine.



epers and talked politics with Venezuelan miners. By the end of the trip, his politicisation, albeit on an emotional level, was complete. It was a modern utopianism: guerrilla struggle would create a new man with moral not economic incentives, and bring about international socialism through solidarity with the Soviet Union. His ideology would

remain this simple, many say simplistic, to the end.

All that remained was to pick the battle. After imprisonment in Mexico for his role in an insurrection against Batista (Guevara was the nly prisoner to attempt converting his jailers to Marxism), he alighted on Cuba - "It is worth dying on a beach for such a noble idea." From umphant entry into Havana in Janu-

tionary were not such a bonus in administration. He soon began to condemn the Soviets and criticise Castro. The naivety that had led him to embrace the Soviet Union was now distancing him from it. By 1964, he had been marginalised, It was no surprise, then, that he re-turned to guerrilla missions, first in

the Congo and then on to the inevitable disaster in Bolivia. All this s told with great authority by Castañeda, a Latin American political scientist with a gift for compressing heavy geopolitics and theory into

absorbable prose. While exceptional in its sketch of Guevara the revolutionary, the book s far weaker on Guevara the man. His widow, Aleida, whom Castañeda calls "legendarily possessive", refused to co-operate, so there are no quotes from personal records or at the special price of £16, writings. Admittedly, Guevara was a CultureShop (see page 37)

ne wished and live the life he dreamt" - in which lies both his tragedy and enduring appeal. f you would like to order this book at the special price of £16, contact

We want the world and we want it

Guevara "was destined, like so few

others in this time, to die the death

ill, disillusioned and close to defeat.

### Celebrities challenged

awrence Donegan

Best Seat in the House ourth Estate 327pp £9.99

THE celebrity sporting memoir is a rarity in publishing — a small Of The Directors' Box? The same courts around New York City. question might be asked about Best Seat In The House, a ghost-written autobiography by Spike Lee in which the film director charts his

o basketball and, specifically, to his

prove the way we live our lives of them a spiritual dimension may sound like an ancient, deserves the thumbs down being is finally run through.

The trick was repeated in Hoop participants can best be taken. Dreams, the magnificent 1995 documentary which followed two high school stidents as they tried to stidents as they tried to break into the professional game. There were claims of Hollywood stars, including Michael Jordan ife, from childhood to the making
of Malcolm X, through his devotion There were claims of Hollywood stars, including Michael Jordan racism when the film falled to be (with whom the director made a se-

the Pulitzer Prize for sports-writing. then he's keeping it to himself. Jordan makes several appearances in the book, including an "indepth" interview with Lee which

longer standing than Lee, but his cameo provides only temporary respite from dreary basketball staone point. "I paying two grand for two," says a sympathetic Lee. "Right would make you weep, wouldn't it?

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### **Fast forward who** savours success

Jim White meets Les Ferdinand, a striker who is bankable and thankful

FYOU wanted a measure of the pre-eminent position football and footballers now enjoy in Britain. it was there the moment Les Ferdinand walked into the West Lodge Hotel in Hadley End on Thursday last week. To be found just where London finally peters out into the green belt of Hertfordshire, this is a gaff where they are so used to accommodating the wealthy there is a wind sock on for guests who bring their own helicopters.

Pop singers and movie stars regularly motor up its meandering drive, watched by a security camera on every other tree. The car park looks like a Mercedes Benz convention. Yet when Les climbed from his Range Rover and ambled easily across the lobby, glowing from a morning's training, the whole place descended into an involuntary twitch and flutter. And that was just the men.

"Can you make this for Craig," asked the waitress at the head of the queue which immediately lined up at his table the moment Les sat down for an apple juice. "Sorry to disturb you, I don't normally ask guests, but my son'ld never forgive me if he knew you'd been in and I'd not asked." "Arsenal fan is he?" joked Les, the Spurs hero, as he signed away. The woman, distracted utterly by his gigawatt grin, didn't reply: she was speechless in his

The reaction he generates is not simply because Les is laughably good-looking. It is not just that he is known to be stepping out with the curvaceous television presenter, Dani Behr. It is that Les Ferdinand is a successful professional footballer, and thus a very rich one.

This week he is in Rome, helping England qualify for the World Cup finals, or so the nation fervently hopes. And those lining up at his table, or nodding over in acknowledgment, or just staring at him, share one fundamental belief: these days there can be nothing better to problem." be than someone like Les. Pop singers and movie stars may be equally lusted over, but what Les was generating here was something else. Admiration. Respect. This lad had made it.

And he rather likes the reaction he causes. "Listen, when I started in Fortunately, I chose not to be led the game, I wanted to be recog- astray. That was my mum mainly. nised," he says, after the staff have | She instilled me with proper values. | attitude with them. Anyhow, football finally twittered back to work. "I That, and I was scared she'd beat is such a business now, they're saw older players getting asked for the crap out of me if I did wrong." autographs and I thought yeah, I want some of that, man.

because I've done well at my job and Hayes. The irony was that they that gives me satisfaction, no denying it. But the other thing about they had bothered to look. He was that gives me satisfaction, no denyfame is this: I get into places now | born and brought up within the because I'm Les Ferdinand. If I was | shadow of Queen's Park Rangers' just an ordinary black geezer from | Loftus Road stadium, where his par-Ladbroke Grove I wouldn't get in. That makes me realise what a very lucky ordinary black geezer I am. Ferdinand spends much of his time of miles of its centre circle, yet no astonished by his good fortune. He one from his estate was ever can't quite believe that he, the lad from a struggling working-class family in West London, has it all, and has it so soon.

"You set yourself dreams," he

Spurs, own a Porsche, I've don them all. I know it's a horrible cliché, but l'Il say it anyway: it's a dream come true." Apart from the fast cars and the big house and the wardrobe the size of a respectable semi, Ferdinand has now acquired the other essential possession of a soccer star, his autobiography. It's not a great read, as footballing memoirs seldom are. But amid the standard accounts of lads and goals there are hints of the struggle he has made to reach the top.

In football terms he is a late comer. While most of his fellow professionals were spotted and groomed by clubs from as young as eight years old, he was 20, and a father, before he earned a living out of the game. Like Ian Wright, the Arsenal and England striker, he had to make his name as an amateur before he was noticed by the big

"I've heard Wrighty say this and I definitely agree with him," he says. "When you've done an ordinary job. like me steam-cleaning taxis and selling wallpaper, when you've worked nine hours before you can go and play your football . . . then suddenly you're being paid to kick a ball. Man, do you appreciate that." He also believes that it is no coincidence that both he and Wright had to make their way up through the amateur game before coming to the notice of the big clubs.

"It's not the case so much now, but when I was a kid there was definitely a reluctance to look at black kids. Those words I hate and despise: They've got a chip on their shoulder.' You'd hear that all the time. No one tried to understand or

#### 'Any footballer who thinks there's any sentiment in this game should think again'

work with us; the moment there was a hint of anything, we got dismissed as having an attitude

Too many of his contemporaries missed the opportunity to better themselves through football, he says, because no one cared to give them a chance. "Hey, round our way, it was easy to get into trouble but I think in life you've got choices.

Ferdinand's first professional club was Queen's Park Rangers, "See, people only recognise me | who bought him from non-league ents settled after arriving from St Lucia in the early sixties. He played all his junior football within a couple

> watched by scouts from the club. "At the school I went to there was umpteen excellent black players," | was transferred to Spura, again for he says. "But when I got to QPR, it | \$9.5 million. Which, as a product,



Ferdinand: 'I don't want to lose this. I love it'

man said to me: You're from round | rior gin palace in which to cruise here, why does no one from the White City estate support us?' I said: 'Because you don't support them.' Once he got his opportunity, Ferdinand says he was not about to let it go. Not least because he wouldn't have been able to face his mother if he had. "I don't want to lose this, I love it so much, I'm going to do everything I can to play as long as I

can," he says. "But then the stakes are so high now in football, you can't afford to let anything slip anyway. If you're cynical about it, you realise there is so much to be earned, you want to stay in the game as long as you can and earn it. And your body is all you got. So you look after it." And he claims not to be unusual in avoiding booze, bad food and late nights. The

days, he says, of top footballers living it large are numbered. "It's all about education. We now get the best advice on diet, stretching, fitness. Us players needed that education; they had it on the Continent for years and all the foreign lads coming over, they brought that going to make sure they get the best out of their product. They don't want it growing obsolete before they've got their money's worth out

Product? Obsolete? Is that how the modern footballer thinks of himself? "You know from day one you're the product. Any footballer who thinks that there's any sentiment in this game had better think

Ferdinand speaks from first-hand experience. After establishing himself at QPR he was transferred to Newcastle United two years ago for \$9.5 million. This summer he was full of Irish and Scots lads. No puts him in the same league as a Ferdinand, is published by Headline says. "Play for England, play for I one from London. Once the chair- top-of-the-range Lear Jet, or a supe- at £16.99

the Med. Last Saturday, the two leams met at Newcastle's St James's Park and Ferdinand was back at the club which, the talk on the Tyne suggested, he never wanted to leave. "I didn't want to leave, it's that list." He might have mentrue, because I felt we were on to something big there," he says.

"But I hold them no bitterness for selling me. I gave them two good years, and they obviously thought now I was 30, \$9.5 million was good money. It's a business. What makes me laugh sometimes, though, is those chairmen who say footballers have no loyalty - they're only too happy to off-load us when they need the cash. Loyalty, you know, it cuts both ways."

So how long does he give it at Spurs before the product is sold on once more? Another two years? 'Man, as long as possible, 36, 37, 38. But you can't look to the future in this game, you might get injured tomorrow and be out of it. Finished. Gone." Besides, he says, he has learnt from the worst experience of ginning to make it. All my early life I'd been told by every Tom, Dick and Harry to look to the future

Then mum dies at 45, what future was she looking at? You know. It's the one regret of my life I could never repay her for what she done for me when I was a kid. Make no mistake, without her driving me, giving me the right values, wouldn't have this.

"If she could have seen me on that pitch in Rome on Saturday, man, she'd have been bursting with pride." And with that thought, for a moment, the man who has everything looks as disappointed as a man who has nothing.

Sir Lea: An Autobiography of Les

victory for Rusedski Chris Bowers

Four-star

Tennis

REG RUSEDSKI'S 6-3,74 7-6 victory over Australia Mark Philippoussis in the final of the Swiss Indoor Champlon-ships at Basel last Sunday gae him the fifth title of his career and took him into the world's too four when the rankings wereas nounced on Monday.

But the 2-1-year-old left-hander is entitled to feel thred as well as chuffed; it was his 20th match in 42 days since the start of the US Open, and he was won all but three. Nor is respitent hand. He has already linked up with his new coach Tony Picked for a tournament in Vienna.

Rusedski is now likely to become the first Briton to qualify for the eight-man world champl onship next month in Hanover, This would put the same week's British national championship in Telford in the shade, just when they looked like beingth first to feature two players from the world's top 20.

The prospect of taking partin lanover seemed a bigger dealt Rusedski than breaking into the top five, "No Briton has ever been to the tour championship so that would be a great achieve-

"The most satisfying thing about winning here is the list of past champions," he added. while Bell's announced it would not Sampras won here last year, Borg has won here, so has McEnroe, it's great to be parted to RC Strasbourg in the first round, second leg of the Uefa Cup while Taylor also won the Basel tile in this time 0-0 at Antield, and although the aggregate score over

Unlike his British rival Tim Henman, who could also quality for Hanover, Rusedski madethe most of a slow start from the Australian. In last Saturday's semi-final Herman missed three break-points in the third game which proved to be his only chance in the Australian's 7-8, 6-4 victory.

in the fourth game of the find Kusedaki, who won his first three service games to love, et tablished a lead he was never b clubs. The present sponsorship deal drop. In particular he was dela to Philippoussis what Henna had failed to do; dropping his returns of serve at the feet of the incoming volleyer.

the few baseline rallies that sisued. Philippoussis had two

chances to get back into the match. At 2-1 in the second he was 15-40 up on the Rusedski service, only for the Briton to thump down a big serve and then craft a cleve point which he finished with smash. Those proved to be Australian's only break points

Rusedski sealed victory of the light match point in the thirds

Rusedski sealed victory of the light match point in the thirds

Rusedski sealed victory of the light match point in the thirds

Rusedski sealed victory of the light light match point in the thirds

Rusedski sealed victory of the light tiebreak.

There was a consolation pos for Henman. He and Mare Rosset later won the doubles title, beating Karsten Brasset and Jim Grabb 7-6, 6-7, 7-8,

GLIARDIAN KERD October 12 12: GUARDIAN WEEKLY

### Boxing WBC heavyweight title Vital victory for quickfire Lewis

John Rawling in Atlantic City

FTER more than eight

years as a professional Lennox Lewis probably roduced the most significant win of his career when he bigsted out the feared Pole Andrew Golota in only 95 seconds of controlled fury to retain his World Boxing Council heavyweight title here last Saturday. Only four world heavyweight title fights have ended quicker. Ever since his devastating

two-round victory over Donovan "Razor" Ruddock five years ago, Lewis, aged 32, has failed to resp the rewards expected of his massive reserves of natural talent. Now, not only has he earned considerable respect on the American side of the Atlantic, he can anticipate the opportunity to realise his dream of becoming undisputed heavyweight champion at some point

With the World Boxing Association champion Evander Holyfield widely tipped to prevail wer the International Boxing

Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

week for Scottish football

ng part in European competitions

neing eliminated in the first round

renew its current \$9.6 million, four-

Rangers lost 1-2 (2-4 aggregate)

Celtic again drew with Liverpool,

the two legs was 2-2, Liverpool won

the away-goals rule. Kilmarnock,

who had gone into the second leg of

the Cup Winners' Cup with a two-

goal deficit against Nice, could only

manage a 1-1 draw and went out 2-4

The decision by the distillers

Bell's was prompted by the uncer-

tainty caused by the proposed se-

cession from the Scottish Football

League of the 10 Premier Division

expires at the end of the season.

had mixed fortunes, with Manches-

ter United, Newcastle United,

Chelsea and Aston Villa as well as

Uverpool making progress, while Arsenal and Leicester saw their Eu-

Among the winners, Manchester United were the pick of the bunch.

They beat the mighty Juventus 3-2

at Old Trafford in the Champions

League — the first British team to defeat the Italian club in 18 years.

Alex Ferguson's men found

themselves a goal down barely 20

dawed their way back into the game then Teddy Sheringham headed

the scores level shortly before half-

Pulled one back in the final minute

of the game. The victory pills

nited top of Group B.

English teams engaged in Europe

year sponsorship deal.

on aggregate.

ended with all three of its clubs tak-

miserable

Federation champion Michael Moorer when they meet in Las Vegas on November 8, a

Holyfield-Lewis showdown seems likely next summer. Golota's two fights with Riddick Bowe last year, which he lost on disqualification through low blows after outboxing the former champion, had established his notoriety and a oosition as a major draw. The Convention Center was packed close to its 15,500 capacity for last weekend's fight.

Fears for the future of the sport proved unfounded, not so much because the 29-year-old from Warsaw accepted the Queensberry Rules, more that Lewis never gave him a second to contemplate stepping out of line. From the moment Lewis snapped back the challenger's head with his ramrod left jab. following up with his heaviest punch — the overhand right the result was inevitable.

"I just wanted to make a statement to the world." the champlon beamed afterwards. "I just wanted to prove my point that I

goals down in 28 minutes to Dynamo Kiev, they ended the

match on level terms, thanks to two

late strikes by John Beresford. His

second goal was a wicked deflection

off a speculative shot from 30 yards.

The two sides share the leadership

Chelsea again beat Slovan

Bratislava 2-0 in the Cup Winners'

Cup. They went into this game con-

Vialli: rear achievement

the Slovaks.

gate victory.

seconds into the match, but they dawed their way back into the game when Teddy Sheringham headed wards and bounced down off the

Ryan Giggs sent the United fans other goal to give them a 4-0 aggre-

vinced that an away goal would se-

Midway through the first half,

Miroslav Konig, the Bratislava keeper, cleared the ball with a pow-

erful kick. Trying to avoid being hit

in the face. Chelsea striker Gianluca

Vialli, standing close by, turned his

crossbar and over the line. Roberto

Di Matteo got the London club's

A goal in extra time by the Ser-

blan striker Savo Milosevic against

Bordeaux at Villa Park edged Aston

Scotland on the Continental shelf

of Group C.

am the best heavyweight in the

The near-hysterical support from Golota's flag-waving Polish fans did nothing to upset the champion and, as Lewis stepped forward to survey his territory during the pre-fight announcements, it was clear Golota was

world."

Lewis described his game plan: "I had told Golota, Welcome to the lion's den'. I just wanted to beat him before he could commit any fouls, and once I hurt him I knew I had to take him out."

Scarcely missing a shot, Lewis worked for an opening with his jab and, when it came, increased the power of his attack with shattering hooks to the head which sent Golota to the floor for the first time. The Pole's ice-blue eyes betrayed shock and panic before he jumped to his feet and was allowed to continue

Lewis bided his time, then unleashed another barrage of punches to dump Golota on the canvas, and the referee Joe Cortez called a merciful halt.

meaningful opposition and wanted

to get out at the top. At the British

Boxing Awards ceremony in London

last week, where he accepted the

#### Football results and tables

FA CARLING PREMIERSH Arsenal 6, Barnsley 0; Bolton 0, Aston Villa 1; Coventry City 0, Leeds Utd 0; Liverpool 4, Chelsea 2; Manchester Utd 2, Crystal Pal 0; Newcastle Utd 1. Tottenham Hotspur 0; Sheff Wed 3; Everton 1; Southampton 3, West Ham

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: Division One: Birmingham 0, Crewe 1; Bradford C 2, Wolves 0; Ipswich 1, Man Chy Middleston 1, Shelf Uhit 2; OPR 2, Charton Reading 4, Sunderind 0, Stockport 3, Porter 1; Stoke 3, Bury 2; Swindon 4, Port Vale 2; Tranmere 2, Norwich 0; West Brom 1, Oxfo Uld 2.

Division Two Bristol R 1, Wresham 0; Burnley 2, Wycombe 2; Chesterlid 1, Bournemih 1; Futhern 3, Oldham 1; Gifingh 2, Bristol City 0, Grimsby 2, Wigan 1; Luton Watford 4; Millwall 2, Bischpool 1; Preston 2 Brentford 1; Southend 0, Northmpin 0; Welsell 3, Carliste 1; York 1, Plymouth 0,

Division Three: Cardiff 1, Barnet 1; Choster 3, Hartlepool 1; Doncosler 1, Brighton 3; Exiter 1, Scarboro 1; Fluil 3, Torquay 3; Layton O 1, Macclesial 1; Lincoln 0, Cambridge 0; Mansfeld 1, Calcher 1, North Ckip Mansfield 1, Colchoster 1, Notto Co 1, Darfington 1; Petorboro 3, Swansea 1; Rochdale 2, Scithorpe 0, Shrewsbry 2.

Premier Division: Cetto 4, Kilmarnk 0, Duntmitne 3, Dundee U 3; Hibernian 3, Rangers 4; Motherwell 1, Hoarle 4; St Johnsin I, Aberdeen Q.

**Second Division:** Clydebank 0, Straniaer 0, Clyde 1, Llyingston 0, East File 3, Queen Sth 2; Forlar 2, Inverness 1, Storikousemuit 3, Breche Co. 2

'hird Divisions Arbroath 3. Alban de Bervae:

#### FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP

		Arrisen an	10	ю	4	υ	21	111	
ı	down 13 with DAOR Cal 2. 1	Man Utd	10	6	3	1	14	-1	•
1	drew 1-1 with PAOK Salonika but	Blackburn	10	5	4	1	20	9	-
I	went out 1-2 on aggregate. Leicester	Leicester	10	56	3	2	14	8	
I	crashed out of the competition los-	Che'sea	9	5	ī	3	24	1.4	
Į		Dorby	8	ě.	Ô	à	16.	8	
١	ing to Atletico Madrid 0-2 at Filbert	Liverpoot	8 9	4	3	2	10	10	
I	Street and 1-4 on aggregate.	Newcastle	7	5	ō	2	7	5	
1		Leeds	10	2	3	-1	11	11	
ì		Aston Villa	10	4	ī	ā	11	15	
I		West Ham	10	4	1	5	12	17	
ı	TEVE COLLINS, the World	Coventry	10	2	6	2	8	11	
ı		Crystal Palace	10	3	5	5	9	13	
I	Boxing Organisation super mid-	Tottenhern	10	2	ā	4	ě	11	
I	dleweight champion nicknamed "the	Wimbledon	9	2	3	4	10	11	
l	Celtic Warrior", took the boxing	Shelf Wed	10	2	ă	5	14	23	
ı		Bolton	ĕ	1	5	š	e	12	
ı	world by surprise when he an-	Everton	ă	ż	2	ĕ	11	16	
ł	nounced his retirement from the	Southampton	10	5	î	ž	8	12	
I		Barnsley	10	2	ó	B	7	28	
ı	ring, saying that he had run out of			-	9	-	,	20	

#### NATIONWIDE LEAGUE

	Sheff
AUSTRALIAN motor-cyclist Michael Doohan's bad luck on home ground continued when he crashed in the 500cc Australian Grand Prix, the final race of the season, at Philip Island last Sunday. The Australian world champion had a comfortable early lead, but his Honda slid off on lap 16. Doohan, who was unhurt, also crashed while leading last year's race at Eastern Creek when he was hit from behind by Spain's Alex Criville. The Spanlard went on to the win the race	Charit OPR Middle Port V Birmin Stoke Sunke Wohe Norwk Stocke Bury Trerim Oxford Readir Man C Ipswic Portsr Hudde
Shardatin Actif on to the Alli nie (See	

a comfortable early Honda slid off on la who was unburt, also leading last year's rac cure them overall victory. They got | Creek when he was h it in what would be a burn deal for by Spain's Alex Spaniard went on to the last Sunday.

ANDRE FABRE'S colt Peintre Celebre broke the course record as he beat the best horses in Europe to win the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe at Longchamp last Sunday. Peintre Celebre appeared to be struggling to keep up with the furious pace set by Busy Flight and Helissio, but once jockey Olivier Peslier extricated it from the pack, it showed a fantastic turn of foot to sweep clear and win by five lengths. giving Peslier his second successive Arc triumph. Pilsudski came second Newcastle were another team Villa 10 through to the second with Borgia third.

Newcastle were another team villa 10 through to the second with Borgia third.

### Division One

	Bredford C	10	5	3	2	14	13	18	Livingston	8	4	3	1	11	6	15
	Swindon	10	ь	3	2	13	13	18	East File	8	5	ŏ	3	15	13	15
	West Brom	10	5	3	2	12	9	18	Fortar	ă	5	ō	3	15	13	18
	Shelf Utd	8	5	3	0	11	4	18	Clydebank	ā	3	4	ĭ	11	6	13
	Charlton	9	5	1	3	20	14	10	Stenhousemur	ā	4	1	3	13	13	13
	OPR	10	5	1	4	13	16	18	Strenraer	Ř	3	á	ž	12	9	12
	Middlesbrough	8	4	2	2	13	9	14	Clyde	ā	3	3	2	Ĩõ.	ĕ	12
	Port Vale	10	4	2	4	13	13	14	Queen of South	ā	2	ĭ	5	12	14	7
	<b>Blimingham</b>	9	4	2	3	12	7	14	Brechin	8	1	2	5	10	20	8
1	Stoke	9	4	2	3	10	10	14	Inverness Cal	8	Ö	3	5	10	15	3
1	Sunderland	10	4	1	5	14	15	13		-	_	~	•			-
	Wokerhampton	10	3	4	3	12	12	13	Third Division	on						
	Norwich	10	4	1	5	8	17	13		P	W	D				Pu
	Stockport	10	3	3	4	16	13	12	Alice	8	8	ō	5	18	7	18
	Crewe	9	4	0	5	13	14	12	Arbroath	8	5	ī	2	17	10	10
1	Bury	10	2	6	3	11	14	11	Ross County	8	5	1	2	19	14	16
1	Tranmere	10	3	1	6	14	14	10	Queen's Park	В	4	3	7	11	5	15
1	Oxford Utd	10	3	1	6	14	16	10	East Stirting	B	5	Õ	3	14	11	16
1	Reading	10	3	1	6	10	18	10	Albion	В	5	ō	3	16	18	18
ı	Man City	9	2	3	4	16	13	9	Berwick	8	2	ī	5	11	16	7
ı	ipswich	8	2	3	3	10	11	9	Dumbarton	8	1	2	5	10	15	ä
1	Portsmouth	IO.	2	2	6	12	17	8	Montrose	8	1	2	5	11	21	5
	Hudderafield	9	0	4	5	5	14	4	Cowdenbeath	8	1	ō	7	3	13	3

_	Tratioid	.0	- /	~		10	•	40
D;	Northampton	10	6	3	1	12	- 5	21
helf	Bristol Rovers	10	4	5	1	14	9	17
-lam	Chesterfield	10	4	5	1	11	7	17
	Preston	10	4	4	2	11	7	16
	Milwall	8	5	0	3	14	9	15
	Gillingham	10	4		3	12	11	15
	Oldham	10	3	5	2	17	17	14
	York	10	4	ž	4	11	12	14
ty O:	Fulhern	10	4	3 5 2 2	4	10	9	14
14;	Wycombe	10	3	4	3	17	17	13
milh	Wigan	10	4		5	15	14	13
	Blackpool	10	4	1	6	15	19	13
ord	Bournemouth	10	3	4	š	11	9	13
_	Grimstry	10		4	3	'6		13
	Brentford	10	2				10	
	Wrestham		3	Š	4	11	14	12
		9	3	322	4	15	13	11
ham	Carlisla	10	00000	2	5	13	17	11
n O,	Bristol City	9	3	2	4	12	10	11
2.	Wolsell	10	3	2	5	12	14	11
2.	Southend	10	3	2	5	9	16	11
	Plymouth	10	1	6	3	9	12	9

Division Three

Maccleshold

Barret Colchester Scarborough

Hartlepool

Leyton Orlant

Shrewsbury Swit isoa Degition

D alongton

3 Mericana 30 Amsione Motherwell

Kilmamock

Dundee Utd.

First Division

Premier Division

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE

# Poterborough 10 6 Notis County 10 6 Exotor 10 6 Scuntherpu 10 6 Combridge Ut 10 4

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE

First Division: Ayı 2, Stirling A 1, Oundes 1, Airdris 0; Morton 1, Ralih 3; Hamilton 2, St Mirren 0; Partick 3, FaSurk 4.

2. Cowditath 1. E Stirling 3. Dumbarton 1 Queens Fir 1. Montrose 1. Ross, Co 2, Allog 4.

	Arsenal	10	6	4	D	27	111	22
	Man Uto	10	6	3	1	14	-1	21
	Blackburn	10			1	20	9	19
	Leicester	10	5	4 3 1	- Claya	1.1	8	18
	Che'sea		5	1	3	24	1.4	16
Ì	Dorby	ð	0000	Ü	3	16	3	18
	Liverpoot	0897	4	3	4	10		18
	Newcastle	7	5	Ō	2	7	5	16
	Leeds	10	4	2	-1	11	11	14
	Aston Villa	10	4	1	ā	11	15	13
	West Ham	10	4	1	5	12	17	13
	Coventry	10	2	6	2	8	11	11
	Crystal Palace	10	3	2	2	9	13	į.
١	Tottenhern	10	2	4	4	6	11	10
	Wimbledon	9	2	3	4	10	11	
	Shelf Wed	10	2	3	5	14	23	- 2
	Bolton	ŏ	1	5	š	e	12	- 2
	Everton	9	ż	2	ĕ	11	15	- 2
	Southampton	10	2	î	5	8	12	6 6 7 6
	Barnsley	10	2	ò	B	7	28	-
1	y		-		•	•	40	0

man many man and man part after		P	100	- 13	L		
award for Best Overseas Boxer, the	Nortm Forest	10	7	1	2	15	
33-year-old Irishman said: "I don't	Bredford C	10	5	3	2	14	
have the motivation that I once had."	Swindon	10	5	3	2	13	
have the motivation that I once had.	West Brom	10	5	3	2	12	
	Shelf Utd	8	5	3	0	11	
	Charlton	9	5	1	3	20	1
▲ USTRALIAN motor-cyclist	OPR	10	5	1	4	13	1
A Walast Dalash had bed	Middlesbrough	8	4	2	3	13	
Michael Doohan's bad luck on	Port Vale	10	4	2	4	13	1
home ground continued when he	Stoke	9	3	2	3	10	4.
crashed in the 500cc Australian	Sunderland	10	7	1	5	14	1.
Grand Prix, the final race of the sea-	Woherhampton		3	á	3	12	1
	Norwich	10	4	1	5	8	1
son, at Philip Island last Sunday.	Stockport	10	3	3	ā	16	1
The Australian world champion had	Crewe	9	4	0	5	13	1
a comfortable early lead, but his	Bury	10	2	6	3	11	1.
Honda slid off on lap 16. Dochan,	Tranmere	10	3	1	6	14	1
	Oxford Utd	10	3	1	6	14	14
who was unhurt, also crashed while	Reading	10	2235	1	6	10	11
leading last year's race at Eastern	Man City	9	5	3	4	16	13
Creek when he was hit from behind	ipswich	8	2	3	3	10	1
by Spain's Alex Criville. The	Portsmouth	10	2	2	6	12	17
by Spania Mex Crivine. The	Huddersfield	9	0	4	D	5	1

### Aydrie G Morton Second Division Forlar Clydebank Stenhousemur Clyde Queen of South nverness Cal Alice Arbroath Ross County Queen's Park East Stirling Albion Berwick Dumbarion

### TV threat to Premiership

THE possible break-up of foot- League clubs to launch similar ball's Premier League was signalled when Manchester United confirmed plans to act up its own subscription TV channel with BSkyB and Granada, writes lan

King.
The club, Britain's biggest, also indicated it would like to show live Premiership matches on it. At the same time, BSkyB's deputy managing director, David Chance,

revealed that the group was negoti-

channels, while Granada said it had also been approached.

At present, the Premier League is held together by its lucrative contract with BSkyB and the BBC which ties United and the other Premiership clubs to the broadcasters. If the clubs start to go it alone on TV deals it could spell the end of the league.

United's chief executive, Martin Edwards, indicated he would be revealed that the group was negoti-ating with at least two other Premier | the TV contract expires in 2002.

